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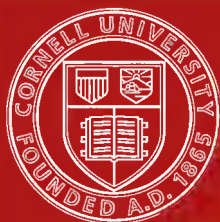
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PUBLIC RECORD:

INCLUDING

SPEECHES, MESSAGES, PROCLAMATIONS, OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER PUBLIC UTTERANCES

OF

HORATIO SEYMOUR;

FROM

The Campaign of 1856 to the Present Time.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

COMPILED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND PRINTED EXCLUSIVELY
FOR THE USE OF EDITORS AND PUBLIC SPEAKERS.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY
THOMAS M. COOK AND THOMAS W. KNOX.

NEW YORK: THE
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ANNOUNCEMENT.

IN presenting this compilation of the public expressions of Governor Seymour during the past twelve years, the editors desire to say that it has been made as complete and accurate as circumstances would permit. No effort nor expense has been spared in this direction; yet, as the value of the work to those for whom it was prepared, editors and public speakers, required that it should be issued as early as possible, it is quite probable that omissions may have occurred. Still, nothing essential to a full and fair understanding of Governor Seymour's views on the various questions which have occupied the public mind during the period covered by this publication is wanting. So far as could be, the matter has been arranged chronologically. Where omissions have occurred in the chronological arrangement, the omitted matter, so far as discovered, has been supplied in an Appendix, to which attention is directed. Every speech, letter, proclamation, or order is printed in full. Messages to the State Legislature alone have been abridged, and in these only allusions to matters peculiarly local in their nature have been omitted. Nothing original has been incorporated into the body of the work beyond the headings and brief syllabus prefixed to the speeches, proclamations, etc., intended as a guide to the reader. In preparing this work, gentlemen of opposite political sentiment have been employed, so that no objection might be urged against its perfect fairness.

It is also proper to state that the work has been compiled, arranged, and published on the sole and exclusive responsibility of its editors and publisher, although Mr. Seymour has cheerfully furnished such material as he had at hand. Mr. Seymour is thus put upon his record precisely as the lapse of time has perfected that record. It is due, however, in justice to him, to state that he deems many of his speeches incorrectly reported; still, as corrections of them were not made in the journals of the day in which they appeared, no modifications, alterations, or corrections have been permitted in this volume, except such as were necessary to make the sense clear and distinct.

The analytical index at the end of the work will commend itself to those who have occasion to study the record herewith furnished.

THE EDITORS.

NEW YORK, August 20, 1868.

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RECORD OF

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Mr. Seymour at Springfield, Mass., July 4, 1856.

The Democratic Theory of Government—State Rights—The Meddling Theory of Government—Coercive Temperance Legislation—Know-nothingism—Unauthorized Political Meddling—The Nebraska Bill—Evil Tendencies of Republican Legislation.

FOR the purpose of standing upon the soil of Massachusetts, to defend the principles of our party and the honor and interests of our whole country, I declined the invitations to meet on this day the Democracy of Philadelphia, exulting in the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, or to unite with thousands who cluster around the time-honored halls of St. Tammany in the city of New York. In a great battle, we love to stand where our ranks are thinnest, and our opponents muster in their might. We seek out the adversaries of religious and political freedom in their strongholds, and we raise the standard of our Union where sectional jealousy, bigotry, and hate are most rife. I honor those who have stood up manfully in this State against the overwhelming numbers of the advocates of alien and sedition laws; against those who preached and practised treason in the last war with Great Britain; against those who prayed that our armies in Mexico might be met with bloody hands and hospitable graves; against those who have persecuted defenceless women for their religious faith; against those whose chief effort at this time is to teach one half of our common country to hate the other half. I have lately been upon the shores of the great lakes at the north, upon the banks of the Mississippi at the west, in the valley of the Potomac at the south, and upon the margin of the Hudson in New York, and it gives me pleasure to say to you who live along the course of the Connecticut, and amid the hills of New England, that but one sentiment animates the great national party to which we belong; and to tell you,

the true men of Massachusetts, that however small your numbers may be here, you belong to a brotherhood who, like yourselves, love our whole country, and who are strong enough to defend it against either foreign assault or domestic treason.

We meet upon a day thick clustering with memories sacred to American patriots. These will animate us upon this occasion. No word will be uttered here which will jar with the recollections of the past. If those who, eighty years ago, came from the north, the west, and the south, to rescue Boston from hostile hands, and to drive destroying armies from the soil of Massachusetts, could have heard, in anticipation, our words telling of the greatness of our country, and of our devotion to its preservation, their hearts would have thrilled with joy and pride. If, on the other hand, their hearing had been cursed by the appeals to passion and prejudice which are made, even now, in a neighboring assemblage, how would that patriotic array have been struck down by the base ingratitude! The strong heart of Washington would have given way as he listened to the revilings of his native State, and of the descendants of those who had followed him from Virginia, to peril their lives for this State in the day of its trial and distress.

At this time our country is convulsed with moral disorders, with religious dissensions and political agitations. Denunciatory language and violent conduct disgrace our national capital. Most of the great religious denominations are divided, and glare across a sectional line with fierce hatred, withholding from each other the charity and courtesies which they extend to their coreligionists from foreign lands. Another tie which has heretofore held our country together, has been disbanded, and from its ruins has sprung a political organization trusting for its success to sectional prejudices. It excludes from its councils the people of nearly one-half the Union; it seeks a triumph over one-half our country. The battle-fields of Yorktown, of Camden, of New Orleans, are unrepresented in their conventions; and no delegates speak for the States where rest the remains of Washington, Jefferson, Marion, Sumter, or Morgan, or of the later hero, Jackson. They cherish more bitter hatred of their own countrymen than they have ever shown towards the enemies of our land. If the language they hold this day had been used eighty years since, we should not have thrown off the British yoke; our national constitution would not have been formed; and if their spirit of hatred continues, our constitution and government will cease to exist.

Let us, with earnest patriotism, inquire into the causes of these evils, and see how far they are produced by erroneous political principles. I shall make no imputations upon motives. We will leave it to others to appeal to prejudice. With us it shall be a calm discussion of principle. We will not attempt to judge of parties or communities by the conduct of individuals, or to decide if Mr. Brooks or Mr. Fremont are to be held up as ruffians because they have been excited to acts of violence by words used in Senatorial debate.

The moral, religious, and political evils of the day are the inevitable consequences of the principles held by our adversaries, and will always follow every attempt to carry them into practice. Upon the other hand, adherence to the principles of the Democratic party has ever advanced the honor of our country, the prosperity of society,

and the cause of religion, morality, and good order. What are the underlying causes which produce such opposite results?

The Democratic theory takes away control from central points and distributes it to the various localities that are most interested in its wise and honest exercise. It keeps at every man's home the greatest share of the political power that concerns him individually. It yields it to the remoter legislative bodies in diminishing proportions as they recede from the direct influence and action of the people. The principle of self-government is not the mere demagogical idea that the people, in their collective capacity, are endowed with a wisdom, patriotism, and virtue superior to their individual characters. The people as a society are as virtuous or as vicious, as intelligent or as ignorant, as brave or as cowardly, as the persons who compose it. The great theory of local self-government under which our country is expanding itself over a continent, without becoming weak by its extension, is founded on these propositions. That government is most wise which is in the hands of those best informed about the particular questions on which they legislate; most economical and honest, when controlled by those most interested in preserving frugality and virtue; most strong, when it only exercises authority which is beneficial in its action to the governed. These are obvious truths, but how are they to be made available for practical purposes? It is in this that the wisdom of our institutions consists. In their progress, they are developing truths in government which have not only disappointed the hopes of our enemies and dissipated the fears of our friends, but give promise in the future of such greatness and civilization as the world has never seen.

The legislation which most affects us is local in its character. The good order of society, the protection of our lives and our property, the promotion of religion and learning, the enforcement of statutes, or the upholding the unwritten laws of just moral restraints, mainly depend upon the virtue and wisdom of the inhabitants of townships. Upon such questions, so far as they particularly concern themselves, the people of the towns are more intelligent and more interested than those outside of their limits can be for them. The wisest statesman living and acting at the city of Washington, cannot understand these affairs, nor can they conduct them as well as the citizens upon the ground. What is true of one town is true of the other ten thousand towns in the United States. When we shall have fifty thousand towns, this system of government will in no degree become overloaded or complicated. There will be no more then for each citizen to do than now. Our town officers in the aggregate are more important than congressmen or senators. Hence the importance to our government of religion, morality, and education, which enlighten and purify the governed and the governor at the same time, and which must ever constitute the best securities for the advancement and happiness of our country. The next organization in order and importance are boards of county officers, who control questions of a local character, but affecting more than the inhabitants of single towns. The people of each county are more intelligent and more interested in what concerns their own affairs than any amount of wisdom or of patriotism outside of it. The aggregate transactions of our supervisors are more important than those of our State Legislature. When

we have secured good government in towns and counties, most of the objects of government are gained. In the ascending scale of rank, in the descending scale of importance, is the Legislature, which is, or should be, limited to State affairs. Its greatest wisdom is shown by the smallest amount of legislation, and its strongest claims for gratitude grow out of what it does not do. Our general government is remarkable for being the reverse of every other system. Instead of being the source of authority, it only receives the remnant of power after all that concerns town, county, and State jurisdiction has been distributed. Its jurisdiction, although confined within narrow limits, is of great dignity, for it concerns our national honor, and provides for the national defence. We make this head of our system strong when we confine its action to those objects which are of general interest and value, and prevent its interference with subjects upon which it cannot act with a due degree of intelligence. If our general government had the legislative power which is now divided between town, county, and State jurisdiction, its attempts at their exercise would shiver it into atoms. If it was composed of the wisest and purest men the world ever saw, it could not understand all the varied interests of a land as wide as all Europe, and with as great a diversity of climate, soil, and social condition. The welfare of the several communities would be sacrificed to the ignorance or prejudices of those who had no direct concern in the laws they imposed upon others. Under our system of government, the right to interfere is less than the disposition many show to meddle with what they do not understand; and over every section of our great country there are local jurisdictions familiar with their wants, and interested in doing what is for the right. It required seven centuries to reform palpable wrongs in enlightened Britain, simply because the powers of its government, concentrated in Parliament, were far removed from the sufferings and injuries those wrongs occasioned. Under our institutions, evils are at once removed when intelligence and virtue have shown them in their true light to the community in which they exist. As intelligence, virtue, and religion are thus potential, let us rely upon them as the genial influences which will induce men to throw off the evils which encumber them, and not resort to impertinent meddling, howling denunciations, and bitter taunts, which prompt individuals and communities to draw the folds of wrong more closely about them.

The theory of local self-government is not founded upon the idea that the people are necessarily virtuous and intelligent, but it attempts to distribute each particular power to those who have the greatest interest in its wise and faithful exercise. It gives to every township the right to direct its own local affairs; the people of a town being more intelligent about their own affairs than the public of any other locality. In the same way it leaves to every county the legislation that pertains to the county, and to every State the legislation that pertains to the State. Such distribution of political power is founded on the principle, that persons most interested in any matter manage it better than even wiser men who are not interested therein. Men act precisely thus in their private concerns. When we are sick we do not seek the wisest men in the community, but the physician who is best acquainted with our disorder and its remedies. If we

wish to build, we seek not the most learned man, but the man most skilful in the kind of structure we desire to erect; and if we require the services of an agent, the one is best for us who is best acquainted personally with our wants, and most interested in satisfying them. The Bible intimates this course when it says, that a man can judge better in relation to his own affairs than seven watchmen on a high tower. Acting upon these simple principles, the tendency of Democracy has constantly been to remove power from great central agencies, and to distribute it among the localities which have the best intelligence for its exercise, and the highest personal interest in exercising it judiciously.

This system not only secures good government for each locality, but it also brings home to each individual a sense of his rights and responsibilities; it elevates his character as a man; he is taught self-reliance; he learns that the performance of his duty as a citizen is the best corrective for the evils of society, and is not led to place a vague, unfounded dependence upon legislative wisdom or inspirations. The principle of local and distributed jurisdiction not only makes good government, but it also makes good manhood. Under European governments, but few feel that they can exert any influence upon public morals or affairs; but here, every one knows that his character and conduct will at least affect the character of the town in which he lives.

The conviction gains ground that the general government is strengthened and made most enduring by lifting it above invidious duties, and by making it the point around which rally the affections and pride of the American people, as the exponent to the world at large of our common power, dignity, and nationality.

Under this system our country has attained its power, its prosperity, and its magnificent proportions. Look at it upon the map of the world! It is as broad as all Europe. Mark its boundaries! The greatest chain of fresh-water lakes upon the globe bathes its northern limits; the Atlantic and Pacific wash its eastern and western shores; and its southern borders rest upon the great Mediterranean Sea of Mexico. Our policy of government by localities meets every local want of this vast region; it gives energy, enterprise, and freedom to each community, no matter how remote or small. And this is done so readily and so peaceably that the process resembles the great and beneficent operations of nature. See how it tells upon the individual citizen; how it develops manhood; how it makes our whole land instinct with energy and virtue! In the world's history, no such exhibitions have ever been made of intellectual vigor, power, and enterprise, as are now shown by the commercial men of these United States, or by its artisans and its agriculturists. These are owing to the principles of local self-government and freedom of individual action. Each man understands this in his own affairs, and he prays to be freed from legislative interferences. When all men concede to others what they thus ask for themselves, the Democratic policy will have no opposers. As a party, we reject legislative legerdemain. We have but one petition to our law-makers—it is, to be let alone. We have one reliance for good government—the intelligence of the people; one source of wealth—the honest, thinking labor of our country; one hope for our workshops—the skill of our mechanics; one impulse for our

commerce—the untrammelled enterprise of our merchants; one remedy for moral evils—religious education; one object for our political exertions—the common good of our great and glorious country.

THE MEDDLING THEORY OF GOVERNMENT.

In antagonism to the Democratic creed of local and individual freedom, there has always existed a pragmatic organization, which under different names has sought to build up a system of political meddling. Its purposes may have been good; its claims have been high-toned and exacting. Constantly defeated by the results of its erroneous principles, its instincts lead it to renew its attempts at power by new projects. It is as confident and as denunciatory to-day as when it sought to uphold national banks and high tariffs. It now claims the exclusive championship of morals, religion, and liberty, as it once did the guardianship of the finances and industry of the country. We deny that the meddling system of politics is favorable to morals, religion, or liberty. History proves the contrary. It has ever been the bane of each. It has always furnished the pretexts of tyrants. The fires of bigotry, the iron rule of despots, the leaden weight of ignorance and degradation, came from pragmatistical doctrines.

Political meddling has done nothing for religion here. It has hung Quakers—it persecuted Roger Williams—it has driven pious women into exile—it has tried to uphold a theocracy in New England—it has divided the church of our land—it has caused bitter sectional hate. It has done no good. We need not go back into the past to show this—it is proved by the questions of the day. We have political meddling with morals in coercive temperance laws; political meddling with religion in Know-nothingism and divided churches; political meddling with rights of local legislation by the Republican party. They each sprung from a common sentiment. The man of the south who supports Know-nothingism, upholds the spirit of bigotry which calls Republicanism into existence. The man of foreign birth who aids in the attempt to disfranchise the emigrant to the west, will find that he is laboring to take away the right of citizenship from the emigrant from the eastern world. He who interferes with those a thousand miles away, must not object to the intermeddling of his neighbors with his domestic or personal affairs. Those who fan the fires of fanaticism in any of its forms, will find their homes invaded by its flames.

It is remarkable that the doctrine of local self-government is most bitterly assailed in some of the New England States which owe their political power to this principle. Equal representation is given to each State in the Senate, the most important branch of the federal system, for it has not only the law-making power in common with the House of Representatives, but also the power to confirm treaties (which are superior to laws), and to restrain the Executive by rejecting official appointments. The Senate holds in check every other department of government.

If New England was asked to give up its disproportionate power in the Senate, it would point to the constitutional compact. Then let

New England see that the compact is respected where it gives as well as where it takes. If it was urged that, with a population less than that of New York, New England has ten Senators and ten electoral votes beyond its proportionate share, and that the constitution should be amended to do away with this inequality, the answer would be, that it was the wise policy of our constitution to uphold State sovereignties; that the organization of the Senate was designed to prevent interference with local affairs by the general government; that representation by States was intended to keep alive the principles of local self-government. For these reasons the small States are allowed a disproportionate share of power in the Senate. Without these reasons, the disparity would be intolerable. But the power was given only for defensive, not for aggressive purposes. Nor will it be tolerated for other purposes. The disproportion of power becomes greater each year. Most of the new States have each of them land fit for cultivation equal to the aggregate of the six New England States. Many of them far exceed that amount. In a few years they will fill up with population, while your numbers will not increase. If a meddling policy is to prevail in our country, an undue share of power will not be allowed. Your remote and sequestered position, touching the rest of the Union only on the borders of New York, will lessen your influence. The principle of interference may be brought home to you, and in defence you will be compelled to urge the principles of local self-government and State rights, which has ever been the creed of the Democratic party. Yet, blind to these considerations, the legislators of this State have been violent in their action against the principle of local sovereignty, which alone gives it power; and most declamatory against the compromise of the constitution, which alone gives it influence—for the whole number of the citizens is only equal to the annual increase in the population of the United States.

COERCIVE TEMPERANCE LAW.

I will present for your consideration the different phases of this spirit of political interference. We have forced upon us in many of the States a coercive temperance law, which is claimed by its advocates to be a new and certain remedy for most of the evils which afflict society, but which is an oft-repeated and always futile effort to extend the jurisdiction of statutory laws beyond their proper bounds.

The objections to this measure are twofold: It violates constitutional laws, and it will increase the evils it claims to abolish. At this time many speak lightly of constitutional law. They are impatient that their peculiar views are checked by its barriers, not bearing in mind that it is their only safeguard against unjust or hasty legislation, affecting their lives, their liberties, and their rights of conscience. We are made free by written constitutions restraining majorities and protecting minorities, and forbidding the legislators from touching a single right of a single citizen. In these days of legislative encroachment and legislative corruption, it is the duty of every citizen to uphold constitutional law. It is strange that those who demand respect for coercive temperance laws, should show contempt for the more sa-

cred obligations of constitutions; that those who call for submission to legislative enactments, denounce and revile the higher decision of judicial tribunals. The objections to this legislation are of the gravest kind. It is not merely against drinking, but against thinking. It is a mere precedent full of evil. It is well described by an eminent clergyman as a "lazy philanthropy which tries to get rid of the duties of life by declaring its evils abolished by Act of Legislature."

Its first and greatest mischief is the demoralization and disorganization of temperance efforts. No cause can receive a blow more deadly than that which degrades the passions and motives of its advocates. The efforts of those engaged in promoting temperance by reason and persuasion, were "twice blessed." They enlarged their own intellect and improved their own characters, while they influenced and benefited others. But when the law gives them power over their fellow-men, poor human nature shows its wonted weakness. Pride and passion are aroused, and provoke resistance where persuasion has heretofore prevailed. I do not mean to urge against this measure that it has unworthy advocates or indiscreet friends; but that its tendency is to arouse bad passions in the breasts of men who have heretofore been humane and charitable; that the power which it gives them over the consciences and actions of others, creates a vindictive spirit on the one hand, and calls forth resistance on the other.

What are the effects on the minds of good men when excited by the idea of coercion? They become inflamed with passion, and indulge in reckless assertions against character, foul imputations against motive, and flippant denunciations of judicial decisions. These passions have been exhibited even in the pulpit; and teachers of a meek and charitable religion adopt the very language of the enemies of its Author, when denouncing men as wine-bibbers and friends of publicans and sinners. It is hard to believe, when listening to their invectives, that they are servants of Him who was thus reviled because He proposed to do away with the laws which restrained the actions of men, and to introduce in their place the principles which purify the hearts and motives. The statute giving them power over their fellow-men, like Ithuriel's spear, touches the love of power lurking in the heart of all, and evil spirits spring into full force and stature.

The reasoning urged by the advocates of this statute is this: "Intemperance is an evil. It is the duty of government to suppress evils; therefore a coercive law is right." The evil is conceded, and those who feel its magnitude cannot and will not consent to any measures which increase it. But we must not stop with depicting these evils in glowing and exciting terms. The great question is this: Is coercion a rightful and effectual remedy? This question is usually overleaped in order to reach the denunciatory exercises. The remedy is either a new one, or one which has heretofore failed. In either event, its advocates are hasty in vilifying those who doubt its efficacy. The arguments upon which it is founded have caused most of the political, social, and religious evils which oppress mankind. Those who hold or usurp power, are wont to say that they deem heresy, or infidelity, or dangerous habits of thinking freely, are evils, and that it is the duty of a state to remove evils; and therefore they may punish freedom of thinking, as well as freedom of drinking. In all these cases the real question is overlooked. What are the right remedies?

The bad effects of this law upon its advocates have been seen. Another objection is, that it creates a spirit of resistance which increases the evil it claims to root out. This fact is shown by the experience of different periods in the world's history. The use of particular narcotics amongst most nations has been confirmed by efforts to suppress their consumption by force.

The cause of temperance was irresistible in the State of Maine while it was upheld by reason and persuasion. It was broken down by legislation. The authors of the bill, in the narrowness of their intellect, could not see that truth was stronger than statutes. We are advised by commercial men, and by the *Missionary Journals of China*, that the attempt to put down the use of opium by force has been followed by the greatest social, moral, and political evils. There, as here, a dead law is like a dead limb upon a living man; it must be cut off, or it will carry decay and corruption into every part of the system. The mischiefs which we begin to feel are there developed to their full extent; and he who will trace them there in all their influences, will be startled to find how great are the wrongs which grow out of mistaken principles of legislation, although prompted by good motives.

The concealed currents of vice, like undercurrents of water, are most insidious and destructive. At this time, the Maine law in several States converts a dangerous, and in many circumstances a destructive, habit of drinking intoxicating liquors into one more dangerous and pernicious; for it superadds the meanness of concealment, and the demoralization of hypocrisy. It also makes it more difficult to apply timely correctives to pernicious habits. You cannot warn against the seductive habit, without first convicting of an unlawful and secret practice. In the meantime the taste has become irresistible. Prohibitory laws have not prevented drinking; they have made it more hurtful by introducing untruthful pretexts for its use.

Let the advocates of temperance see what spirit this enactment has evoked. Is this the day of triumph for their cause? Persuasion requires virtue, ability, and sincerity. Coercive laws are best enforced by the violent, vindictive, and base. Hence these are now taking the lead. They even show a malignant hostility to those who have labored long and sacrificed much for the objects they claim to have in view, if they refuse to become politically subservient. Men out of repair, morally or politically, in their struggles for party advantages, throw the consistent advocates of temperance into the background; a benevolent enterprise has fallen into the hands of those afflicted with a "vindictive philanthropy," which deranges them with the idea that they are virtuous, because they are denunciatory. The wise and the thoughtful are overruled by men raging with the delirium tremens of fanaticism; who assail the most sacred offices of religion; who see foul serpents coiling upon the sacramental altar, infusing their venom into the sacred elements, and hissing amid the solemnities of the last supper.

The terms of the law go beyond the sentiment of all classes, and cause a constant inconsistency of language and action. Public officers, judges, and clergymen, are compelled to denounce the use of wine as a crime, when speaking with all the solemnities of official station, or invested with the sacredness of the pulpit. Yet they

show by their constant intercourse with those who do not use intoxicating liquors, that this is a formal language, a mockery, a compliance with the terms of law which all feel to be untrue.

The vital principle of the Christian religion is persuasion, in opposition to restraints. It makes temperance and all other virtues something positive. It aims to make men unwilling, not unable to do wrong. It educates alike the feelings and the understanding, the heart and the head. All experience shows that mere restraints from vice do not reform. Our prisons are the examples of the perfect system of restraint. Their inmates, for a long series of years, are entirely prevented from indulging in intemperance or any kindred evil. They lead lives of perfect regularity, industry, and propriety, because they are compelled to do so. Yet few are reformed by this. Our instincts teach us that forced propriety of conduct gives no assurance of future virtue; on the contrary, the very fact that they have been subjected to it, is by courts and communities regarded as evidence of depravity.

The very condition of restraint is found to be a positive obstacle in the way of the influences of religious education, when brought to bear upon the inmates of our prisons. Are the advocates of the temperance law willing to place themselves upon the footing on which they strive to place others? Will they give up their convictions of duty and propriety—surrender every positive virtue, and become temperance men merely because they cannot drink? They will shrink from the application of a principle to themselves which they try to apply to others. They know that virtues wither and die out under such systems. The law has, and does, lead away from the right remedy to the wrong one. I know that it is difficult to draw the line where persuasion should end and coercion begin. This has ever been the problem which has embarrassed legislatures; but this we do know, that the progress of civilization, morality, and virtue, has been marked by the extension of education and religion, and the contraction of coercive laws.

Governments emanate from the people, and merely represent their morality or intelligence. The folly which looks to governments to evolve the virtues, is like the ignorance which regards the thermometer as a regulator of temperature, or the barometer as the controller of the weather.

We object, then, to this law, because it demoralizes temperance men, making them vindictive and violent; because it arouses a spirit of resistance, increasing the evils of intemperance; because it is a step backward in civilization, substituting restraints for education. All admit that it is better to be temperate from choice, from thought and resolution, than from coercion. Who doubts that persuasion will win more than force?

But it is said in a triumphant tone, if the law will increase intemperance, why do the sellers of intoxicating liquors object to it? Leaving out of view differences of opinion with regard to the propriety of their use as drink, this very law concedes their necessity for mechanical, medical, and sacred uses; but while it recognizes the legality and necessity of their manufacture and sale, it strives to make both odious, dangerous, and degrading; and this is naturally resisted by men whose objects are higher than mere gain, and who do not wish

to see a business pursuit of conceded necessity, forced into the hands of those indifferent to their right of public sentiment.

I do not assail the motives of its advocates, but good motives do not prevent the evil results of false principles. A good motive (to save men's souls) originated the slave-trade. The same good motives kindled the fires of the Inquisition. Good motives and wrong principles have lain at the root of almost every evil which has oppressed and afflicted mankind.

It is gratifying that the great body of the clergy reject this union with the State. They continue to put their faith in the Christian, and not in the legislative dispensation. Their less sagacious brethren will soon find where their infidel alliances will lead them.

KNOW-NOTHINGISM.

While the coercionist is trying to limit the freedom of his neighbors, two other parties, actuated by the same sentiment of political meddling, are assailing different classes of our people. We have "Know-nothings" who wish to disfranchise those who come, and "Republicans" who are resolved to disfranchise those who go. The first hold that those who come from the other side of the Atlantic shall gain no political rights; the last assert that the citizens who go beyond the Missouri should lose the right of self-government they enjoy at home. Each party unite to place a class of persons in a condition of pupillage. They assume that men who have the vigor, energy, and enterprise to leave their native land, are unfit to take care of themselves. They reverse every American sentiment. They believe that those who have hazarded their lives and fortunes in their efforts to get homes and freedom for themselves and their families, have less interest in their own welfare than others have for them. These two parties hold in common, that men who emigrate will make better citizens if deprived of political right. What would our laborers say, if told they would make better workmen if they were not allowed to become their own employers? What would the apprentice think, if he was advised that he would be more faithful if he was not permitted to become a master-mechanic? or the lawyer, if debarred from the judge's seat, to make him a more trustworthy advocate? They would denounce such suggestions; they would demand encouragement for efforts, by the hopes of all the honors and advantages of their pursuits. The folly of trying to make good mechanics, lawyers, and doctors, by disfranchising them, is no greater than the folly which believes men can be made good citizens by taking from them the rights of citizenship.

It is claimed that the original settlers of our country were endowed with all the cardinal virtues, and that they were the authors of our civil and religious liberty. Our forefathers committed more outrages upon personal rights than the most bigoted impute to those who now come to our shores. Under the influence of fanaticism, they drowned and hung their fellow-citizens. They were made wiser and better men by the enjoyment of full political rights in the land, and the modern emigrant must be allowed the full benefit of the same influences.

Is the action of your legislators consistent upon the subject? They protest with justice against interference with the emigrants from this State to Kansas when sent out by "aid societies," yet the border men of Missouri are only enforcing the laws which Massachusetts has passed against any foreigner who may be placed upon its shores by means of charitable assistance. He is called a pauper, and sent back across the ocean. Can that be wise and humane here, which is denounced as ruffianism and wrong in Kansas?

Absurd efforts are made to trace all the virtues of the American character back to the early colonists; to find the germs of our institutions in their first acts after landing upon our shores, and thus to make a distinction between them and the modern emigrant. It is assumed that the former were models of virtue and wisdom, and that we get from them our ideas of civil and religious liberty. Nothing can be more fallacious. A contentious feeling was shown on the Mayflower; for it is given as a reason for forming a government by its emigrants, that, "observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good to combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as they should, by common consent, agree to make and choose." The same considerations of religious freedom, or of personal advantage, which led the early colonists to the shores of this continent, continue to draw hither the inhabitants of the Old World. No one denounces the early immigration because there were criminals mingled among the good and wise.

The Know-nothing idea, that men will make better citizens if deprived of political privileges, is most undemocratic; that religious sentiments should be persecuted and denounced, is most un-American; and that homes should be denied to the poor and oppressed in our abundant unoccupied public domain, is most uncharitable and unchristian.

What is this emigration that is thus denounced? It is the victory of our country and its institutions. It is a mighty achievement in our contest for superiority with the Old World. It is a triumph of peace. It is a glorious contrast with the devastations of war. It annually brings three hundred thousand "pilgrims," and transplants them into happy homes, making them prosperous, and our nation great; while elsewhere, war sacrifices an equal number upon the battle-field, and by loathsome disease. It is the manifestation of the superior power of commerce over mere martial strength. While great nations exhaust their energies, embarrass their finances, and carry misery and desolation into the homes of their people, in transporting their armies to death and disease on distant shores, a few merchants of this city bring a greater host across the broad Atlantic, and never feel that it is more than an easy and familiar transaction. Compared with this great movement, the subjects of European diplomacy are trivial. This is the great combat which is to tell upon the destinies of the nation and the history of the world. No Alexander or Cæsar in the height of his conquests, ever made such acquisitions of power as immigration brings to us.

But those who are against the cause of their country in this contest, contend that emigration brings with it destitution, poverty, and crime. Trace these bands of strong-limbed but poor foreigners

until they plant themselves upon the hitherto useless land of the West, and see how wealth is evolved by their very contact with the soil. They were poor, and the fertile land was valueless; but combine these two kinds of poverty, and the wealth which alchemists dreamed of is the magical result. Whence comes this mighty volume of prosperity which rolls over our land? Whence the increase of the price of farms and lots and broad untilled lands which has given to so many of our citizens wealth and prosperity? What gives employment to our cars and boats and ships, transporting armies of men, and retransporting the products of their labor? Stop foreign emigration to this country, and thousands of those who ignorantly denounce the cause of the wealth they enjoy, would find their abundant prosperity wither and die away like Jonah's gourd.

There is danger that this source of prosperity and power will be diverted elsewhere. It does not flow to our shores because we alone have fertile lands; there are broad, unoccupied plains not owned by us in South America and Australia. Immigration seeks here religious and political freedom and equality. Will it do so hereafter in view of late occurrences? Recent outrages have been perpetrated aptly for the purposes of governments who are adopting active measures to turn elsewhere these living streams of population. British naturalization laws are changed in favor of the emigrant to the Canadas. Continental governments, under pretext of protecting the health of their subjects, impose vexatious and embarrassing restraints upon our vessels engaged in their transportation. The diminished number of emigrants during the past year shows that result.

Divert immigration from our country, and you strike a deadly blow at its prosperity. Why are the farmers in the interior of our States able to send the fruits of their toil to foreign markets? Mainly because the cost of their transportation is lessened by immigration. When we trace out all its influences, permeating every industrial pursuit, we are amazed at the madness and folly that seeks to divert it elsewhere, and ashamed of the bigotry and ignorance which prompts the effort. The charges of pauperism and criminality made against our foreign citizens are unjust. Their violations of law while they are not familiar with our institutions, and when placed under circumstances of great and novel temptations, are no more frequent than the commission of crimes by those of American birth, when removed from the conventional restraints of kindred and friends, in California, or on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean Seas.

POLITICAL MEDDLING WITH THE RIGHTS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN STATES AND TERRITORIES.

The spirit of political meddling with the affairs of others, and with the rights of man on account of birth or religion, has naturally given birth to a desire to interfere with distinct and distant communities. The idea of disfranchising those who go as well as those who come, inevitably grows up in the minds of those who wish to control the action of others. Such minds instinctively war against self-government by communities as well as by individuals.

At this time a party powerful in numbers, resources, and talent, in

opposition to the warning and entreaties of the patriotic whom the American people love and reverence, have entered into the pending contest with the determination of arraying one section of our common country against another. Its presses constantly urge upon the public attention everything of past, present, or fancied occurrence which is calculated to excite the prejudices or to arouse the passions of the North against the South. This treasonable conduct is called a necessary measure of defence against the aggressive power and political influence of the South.

The charges of territorial acquisitions and of political aggression to promote Southern designs, have been made so persistently, that well-disposed persons have been misled. I call your attention to the following facts, gathered from official documents :

In 1790, the population of the Northern States was 1,968,455 ; and of the Southern, 1,961,372. Their numbers were then about equal. In 1850, the population of the Northern States was 13,507,194 ; and of the Southern, 9,612,810. This great disparity has been increased during the last five years. The annual increase of the population of the United States, including immigration, is about 900,000. Of the natural increase, 570,000 belongs to the North, and 230,000 to the South. Of the immigration, assume that 70,000 goes to the South, and 230,000 to the North and West, and it will be seen that the annual increase of the population of the free over the slave States is 350,000. By 1860, the population of the North will exceed that of the South more than seven and a half millions.

The North owes its superiority in numbers to immigration. It was the policy of Mr. Jefferson, a Southern Democrat, in opposition to that of Mr. Adams, a Northern Federalist, which brought immigration to our shores, at a time when the continuance of alien laws would have turned it elsewhere. Southern Democrats knew at that time, and have seen ever since, that immigration must follow the channels of commerce and be carried into the Northern States. They have always known that the climate, the pursuits, the institutions of these States were most congenial to Europeans. Has any Southern administration attempted to check the incoming foreigners because our section of the country was most benefited ? Have they indulged in the meanness of sectional prejudice at the expense of the general prosperity of our country ? They had the wisdom to see that the general good was promoted by a liberal and humane policy, and they did not stop to ask if we were to be particularly benefited. The superior political power of the North is due to the policy of Southern Democratic administration. And now there are men base enough to appeal to the power thus created to array itself against these States which sustained Mr. Jefferson and his successors against alien and sedition laws, and all other forms of oppressive or proscriptive legislation. Mark how closely the Republican party studies the census returns, and see the ascending and graduated scale of indignation keeping its due proportions with the descending scale of the representative power of the South ! Under the census of 1830, men who have lately deserted the Democratic party would not consent that Congress should hear a petition against slavery in the District of Columbia. Under the census of 1840, they became opposed to the extension of slavery into any of the Territories. After 1850 they in-

sisted no new slave State should be admitted; and in view of the results of the enumerations of 1860, they are filled with a horror of slavery, and are preparing for the active interference with the legislation of sovereign States. More judicious courage has never been shown. Like that of Falstaff, it first displays itself when the battle is over.

Look at the results of territorial acquisitions. At the establishment of our government we had no lands west of the Mississippi. By the purchase of Florida, and the acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, and California, we have increased our country's area threefold, and extended it to the Pacific. The purchase of Florida was more for the advantage of Northern commerce than Southern interest. A large portion is uninhabitable, and its population is less than that of some of our interior counties. With Cuba, it gave to Spain complete control of Northern commerce with the Gulf of Mexico; hence the necessity for its acquisition. The purchase of Louisiana was made for the purpose of giving to the Western and Northern States an open channel to the ocean for their productions. The Southern States did not need this; they bordered upon the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico. It also gave to the North an immense region, exceeding in extent the original thirteen States, lying between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean; a country watered by the upper Missouri and Columbia rivers and their tributaries, with the advantages of some of the best harbors in the world on the Pacific coast. This purchase was made by a Southern administration. This vast region is soon to be filled with an active and enterprising population. A computation will show that two-thirds of the extent, and a vastly greater proportion of the value, of the territories acquired by the United States, have become or will become free States.

The following statement, extracted from the able speech of Senator Clay, of Alabama, shows the results of Territorial acquisition in a clear and strong light:

"At the conclusion of peace, 1783, the States then north of Mason and Dixon's line had 164,081 square miles. The States then south of that line had 674,202 square miles.

"Pending the Revolution, the north-western territory excited (as Mr. Madison expressed it) "the lucrative desire" of the north-eastern people to a degree threatening the existence of the confederacy. The territory belonged to Virginia, by repeated royal grants, as well as by conquest achieved at her sole expense and by her unaided arms. To satisfy those desires, quiet the contest, and secure harmony and peace, she surrendered it to the confederacy, and the ordinance of '87 devoted it to free soil. That surrender reduced southern territory nearly threefold. Northern territory was thereby swelled to 425,761 square miles, and southern territory reduced to 385,521 square miles. The territory of Louisiana, next acquired, in which slavery was maintained by both French and Spanish laws, and guaranteed in the treaty of acquisition, was, by the Missouri restriction, so divided that the North took (exclusive of Oregon) 659,138 square miles, and the South retained 225,456 square miles. By that settlement the South surrendered of slaveholding territory to the North about three-fourths, and retained about one-fourth. But, including Oregon as a part of the Louisiana purchase, the North took 972,605 square miles, and the

South retained 225,456 square miles. Thereby the South surrendered more than four-fifths, and retained but one-fifth of that territory.

"The acquisition of Oregon (if not included in the Louisiana purchase), Florida, and Texas, resulted in a division, by which the North got about 415,467 square miles, and the South retained about 271,268 square miles. By that arrangement the North obtained about three-fifths of those territories.

"The Mexican conquests, engrossed by the North, added to her limits about 401,838 square miles. The South has grown from 647,202 to 882,245 square miles, having added but 235,047 square miles to her area since 1783. In the same time the North, from 164,081, has grown to 1,903,204 square miles; having added in the same time 1,738,123 square miles to her limits. The South has increased less than fifty per cent, the North near 1100 per cent, in territorial area since the revolution. The South commenced with four times the territory of the North; the North has now nearly two and a half times the territory of the South. The federal government never had one foot of territory east of the Rocky Mountains that was free soil when acquired. And, indeed, I question whether she ever held any west of them that was free soil. The Northern States never ceded one foot of territory to the United States; and never yielded one foot of territory that was free soil when acquired, to the use of the South, but have retained it all.

"The South has ceded, of her own exclusive territory, 251,671 square miles, and has relinquished of other slaveholding territory when acquired, belonging in common to all the States, 972,605 square miles, and of slaveholding and non-slaveholding territory in all, not less than 1,738,123 square miles—an empire elevenfold greater than the entire area of the Northern States at the peace of '83, and more than double the entire domain of the States of the confederation.

The political power of the country has passed into the control of the free States, and that power is increasing with startling rapidity. The preservation of the Union now depends upon the wisdom and patriotism of the North. Yet, at this time, the Republican party appeals to Northern passions and prejudices. It attempts to array the majority against the minority; it tells the majority that it is base and bold to denounce and revile the minority; it stigmatizes those as cowardly and base who stand upon Northern soil to speak for our whole country. It will now be seen if the North will use its power fairly. If it does not, the South has the ability, and I hope the spirit, to resist injustice. If it does not do so, it will be untrue to itself, to us, and to the whole country.

THE NEBRASKA BILL.

But a particular complaint is made. It is said the Nebraska bill is an outrage which must be resisted, and that great wrongs are done under its provisions. Let us look into this. The principle of the bill, and the manner in which it is enforced, are two distinct things. We will examine them separately.

Those who are trying to form a sectional party, found their hopes upon differences of opinion among Democrats with regard to terri-

torial questions, and they expect to draw some into their organization who differ from them in ninety-nine points because they may possibly agree upon one. It is true that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was condemned by many, regretted by others, and approved by a third class. Many deemed its repeal as a great wrong; others regretted it as inexpedient; others again believed that the only way to dispose of agitating questions, dangerous to the peace of our country, was to leave them to the disposal of the communities particularly concerned. I believe there are few who wish for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. It has been the singular fortune of this act of Congress to have been denounced at the North and the South at the time of its adoption; to have been generally condemned during the period of its existence, and to have created a political convulsion by its repeal.

There are two tribunals to which territorial questions may be referred—the General Government and the people of the Territories. Many at the North and at the South hold that the General Government has jurisdiction, and is bound to exercise it; that it is a duty which cannot be avoided. Those at the South contend that they have a right to go into the Territories with slavery, and that Congress should pass laws for its protection; while those at the North urge that it should forbid its introduction. While these two classes agree upon the tribunal, they have also been alike dissatisfied with its action. Other Democrats prefer a reference to the popular tribunal. They believe it to be most in accordance with the genius and spirit of our institutions. They believe its decisions will be honest, intelligent, and wise, for they will be made by those deeply interested in a right result—by those who know best their own wants and condition, and by those who can be influenced by no considerations save those which will advance the welfare of the society in which are involved their hopes and their fortunes. They think the inhabitants of the Territories are better judges of their own wants, with deeper interests in good government for themselves, than those a thousand miles away, legislating under the influences of passion and prejudice, plunder and pleasure; that the exercise of jurisdiction by the General Government may carry with it, by implication, other and dangerous powers. I agree with those who prefer territorial tribunals. The policy of local self-government has been adopted, and I believe there is a disposition on the part of all classes of Democrats to have it fairly tested; and it is demanded with justice that there should be no interference with its action from any quarter.

The people who go into remote Territories and encounter the hardships of frontier life, shall lose none of their political rights by doing so. Why should they lose them? Why will you withhold from them rights you demand for yourselves? They were capable of self-government before they left this and other States. Why not now? There is not a town nor a county in the State which will not resist to the last any interference by an adjoining town or county. Why, then, will you meddle a thousand miles away with affairs about which you are ignorant? Has not your neighbor, who has gone to the Territory, staked his fortune upon its good government? Does he not know his own interests? Do you pretend to understand them? If the settlers in Kansas should attempt to interfere with

your local government, would you not laugh at their folly? Is your folly less when you interfere with them? Some say, let the General Government dictate local laws to the inhabitants of the Territories. Will you let the General Government dictate local laws to you? It will be found that this bill only contains those principles of American freedom which cannot be assailed without attacking our own rights.

The people of the North are uniformly opposed to slavery, not from hostility to the South, but because it is repugnant to our sentiments. In conformity with our views, we have abolished slavery here; and having exercised our rights in our own way, we should be willing to let other communities have the same rights and privileges we have enjoyed. We are bound to act upon our faith in the principles of self-government.

It is gratifying to us that this policy will produce the results which we believe will best promote the prosperity of the Territories. The laws of emigration and settlement in our country are as known and as determinable as arithmetical propositions. Emigrants go from States which are most populous. They go from dearer to cheaper lands. The census of 1850 shows that the population of the North exceeds that of the South 4,000,000. Its annual excess of increase is 350,000. Its population to the square mile is double, and the value of its real estate, by the acre, is about threefold that of the South. The unoccupied land in the free States is dearer, and in the slave States cheaper, than in the Territories. In the slave States bordering on the Territories, the public lands, under the graduation laws, can be bought for lower prices than in the Territories. Most of these lands thus held at reduced rates, are of the best quality. The population of Missouri, with an area greater than that of the six New England States, is less than 700,000, and its rates of increase far below that of Iowa or Wisconsin. The number in Arkansas and Texas is still less on each square mile. No one can look at these facts and not be satisfied what the result will be. The annual excess of the population of the North over that of the South, will each year give three times the population required to entitle a State to admission into the Union; while the South, under the influence of climates, productions, and institutions, is imperfectly settled, and its smaller numbers are but thinly scattered over its extended territories.

But it is charged that the doctrine of self-government is not carried out in Kansas. If it is not, let us all unite and see that it is fairly enforced. There need be no difference among us upon that point. But I warn you against false reports. We have had more rumors of war, and accounts of the movements of armed men in Kansas Territory, than attended the war in the Crimea, where one hundred thousand lives were sacrificed. Two classes of agitators have concurred in their efforts to create these false views. One at the North, to produce the impression that a sectional party must be formed to resist the South; while certain candidates for office in Missouri wish to magnify their services to the South. The violent and inflammatory articles of the journals of both classes designed to stir up violence and passion, are republished with obvious satisfaction, and thus the most offensive sentiments are constantly kept before the different communities they wish to agitate and excite.

There have been impertinent interferences in some quarters, and

truculent outrages in others. But it is evidently unjust that the conduct of citizens of old States should be offered as evidence that the people of the Territories are incapable of self-government. The political struggles in Kansas heretofore have had reference mainly to the power of building up towns by establishing the sites of the capital and county seats. Those who are anxious on the question of slavery would be somewhat surprised by a close and local inquiry into the views and purposes of parties in Kansas. It may be said the numbers which have already gone into Kansas from Missouri show that its citizens will monopolize this Territory. Hitherto, emigration there has been controlled by a desire to secure town lots. When agricultural emigration commences, it will be governed by rules which prevail elsewhere. But few have gone from Missouri or other States to get farms—most expect to get cities. The true pioneers will soon make their appearance; the men who till the soil and subdue the earth—men of strong arms and clear heads—who know how to govern themselves, and who will direct their own affairs. Let not all our virtuous indignation be poured out upon border life. When you go among the sturdy men who, in advance of improvements, have chopped, and hoed, and ploughed their way almost across this continent, you will find they have generous and noble qualities. Let us not exhaust all our horror of unlawful acts upon those who are in a measure unprotected by laws, and be forgetful of what occurs in our own or neighboring States. More blood was spilled in a late political canvass than in any or all of the elections in the Territories. In old States there are none of the palliations which grow out of the condition of the border life. Who does not feel that at this time the rights of conscience are safer in Kansas than in States which heretofore boasted of their civilization, refinement, and good order?

To those who know the wants and conditions of a new country, there is something ludicrous in the fierce air of the emigrant from the East, who grasps his rifle with deadly intent, and carries it with its necessary ammunition to his great discomfort, the hazard of his wife and children, in his journey to the far West. In three months he will sell his deadly weapon to his Missouri neighbor, who is aiding him through the horrors of the fever and ague.

There are strong proofs that the excitements about Kansas are made to order. An undue importance is attached to proceedings in that Territory. The impression is created that it will influence, in a great degree, the balance of power between the States. Oregon, Washington, and Minnesota Territories will all of them make free States. They are entitled to admission, whenever they make application, by virtue of their population and their older organization. Nebraska contains more people than Kansas. If confidence can be placed in the report of the Congressional Committee in regard to the territorial elections, the number of votes do not indicate 20,000 people. Slaves will not be taken there, for they are moving now from the cheaper and more desirable lands of the State lying in the same latitude, to the more profitable labor of the extreme south. Kansas was selected as the scene for agitation out of all the Territories organized under the same laws, because its geographical position made it most favorable for the purpose. Other Territories were let alone, and have flourished under the principle of non-intervention. But from the

outset, Kansas was selected as the scene of excitement by political meddlers. Its present condition proves the wisdom of the let-alone policy of the Democratic party. From the first, the most exciting addresses have been made by credulous clergymen, the most embittered statements put forth by influential papers, and the most foul-mouthed speeches have disgraced the national Capitol with regard to it. When these appliances have produced the natural results of bitterness, hatred, and bloodshed, the authors of evils hold them up as proofs that the best principles of government are wrong because political meddlers have for the time defeated their benign influence. The men who preach and practise meddling in morals, religion, and local legislation, are responsible for the wrongs in Kansas; not those who always oppose interference. Neither Missouri nor Massachusetts have learned pragmatism from the Democratic party.

The Republican organization proposes an assault upon the Southern States by a system of agitation and excitement, directly at war with the purposes of the Constitution. They constantly discuss questions belonging to other States, to the entire neglect of their own local affairs. They organize their party expressly on the ground that all and every difference of opinion about their own concerns are to be overlooked, provided they agree in their views about an institution which does not exist in their own States, and does exist in States where they admit they have no constitutional right to interfere. They give dispensation for all past offences. Enrolment in their ranks expiates the most deadly heresies in doctrines and conduct, and exempts from the performance of all acts of charity, mercy, or benevolence. The Union, among its members, is a libel upon their past professions and actions. They mock at consistency. They ask the foreign-born citizen to unite with them in interfering with men afar off; and thus justify interference with their own religious and political rights at home. They invite the opponent of the Maine law to unite with them to coerce those who live west of the Missouri, and thus justify coercion by their own neighbors. The pretext for this evasion of the Constitution, is the affairs of a single Territory. The discussion, the appeals to passion, and the influences of their actions, are not confined to that point; nor can they stop at that point, if they succeed in their present efforts. They must go to the extent of interfering with the sovereignties of the State. Their outspoken allies, the Abolitionists, declare that such are their intentions. The pretext for the war now waged against the South, is an alleged invasive policy on its part. Conscious of the wickedness of a sectional warfare, an attempt is made to show that their policy is defensive.

CONCLUSION.

To charge upon the advocates of the let-alone policy the fruits of meddling, and thus attempt to justify interferences, is no new device. Tyrants always denounce liberty as anarchy; freedom of conscience as infidelity; reliance upon education and intelligence as immorality and disorder; and to the extent of their power they take care that all possible evils attend every effort to emancipate mind, action, or conscience. This is the character of the warfare waged upon the Democratic party. He who upholds the principle of interference, is

responsible for interference. He who stands by the principle of local self-government, is not responsible for acts against which he protests in principle and practice. Every man knows that peace and good order will not be restored to this land while the press and political agitators urge sectional hatred and interference with local affairs.

The evils of political meddling with morals, religion, and the rights of distinct communities, are not only of a public nature, but they affect individual character. It causes the pharisaic spirit which is prevalent in our country. It creates false standards of virtue. It misleads men in their estimates of themselves. How many men, harsh and hard in their dealings with their fellow-citizens, fancy themselves benevolent because they cherish a hatred of real or fancied wrong in remote parts of our country? How many who omit the charities and kindness of daily life, who forget to aid the poor in the next street, quiet their consciences by denunciations of those whom they charge with being wrong-doers a thousand miles away? How many bad men gain influence and power at home by occupying the public mind with alleged wrongs abroad? How many arrogate to themselves an exclusive Christianity because they reverse every principle of its teachings in their sentiments towards their fellow-men? How many have given rifles for Kansas, who would not give aid to their suffering neighbors? The present practice of stirring up popular passions, threatens to destroy all freedom of opinion, and all individuality of action.

The pulpit and the press are becoming unfaithful. They follow in the wake of popular excitement. They do not point out nor combat the faults of readers or hearers, but administer to their self-complacency by fierce denunciations of their distant fellow-citizens. They assume the bearing of courage, while acting upon the principles of cowardice.

Fanaticism gives its subjects no rest. It drives them on from one subject of excitement to another, from one hatred to another, from one persecution to another. We know that the political fanatic of to-day will be foremost in the religious persecutions of to-morrow.

The leprosy of hypocrisy is spread over our land, giving us an outward whiteness because there is an internal corruption. Religion, charity, and morals are hidden by "vindictive piety" and "malignant benevolence," at war with every principle of Christianity. Unless the good and patriotic rebuke this spirit of cant and fanaticism, the sourness and hatred of the "Roundhead" will again, in its reaction, be followed by the gross licentiousness of the Cavalier.

Note by the Editor.

[From 1856 down to the beginning of the war we cannot find that Mr. Seymour made any important political address. The speeches he delivered in that time were mainly of local importance, and contained nothing to affect in any way the record of his public life.]

Mr. Seymour at the Democratic Convention, Albany, January 31, 1861.

Calamities of Country due to Party in Power—Comparison between Time of Washington's Administration and present—Territorial Question the particular Subject of Controversy—How the Question was treated in past Times—Differences between North and South—How the War should be conducted—Quotation from John Quincy Adams—Necessity of a Compromise—Propriety of a Compromise—Treatment of Seceded and Border States—How the Missouri Compromise was made—Objects of the Convention—Fears of National Calamity.

It has been truly said by the President of this Convention that we do not meet for partisan purposes, although we are assembled in pursuance of a call issued by a political organization. There was no other mode by which we could act as a representative body. The people of the State are divided into two great parties, one of which gave at the late Presidential contest more than three hundred and fifty thousand, and the other more than three hundred and ten thousand votes for their respective candidates. We have waited with patient expectation for some effort on the part of the responsible majority to avert the calamities which overhang our country. We have hailed with joy every indication of a desire on their part to meet the duties of their position. We have given a cordial approval to every patriotic expression coming from individuals of that party, whether uttered through his Journal by the able Republican leader of the State, by the distinguished Senator at Washington, or by a patriotic and intelligent member of our Legislature. The hopes excited by those expressions have died away. Our country is on the verge of ruin, and now, in behalf of the great organization we represent and of those who, since the late election, have joined our ranks, we meet to confront the dangers which menace us. I believe in our resolutions we shall utter the sentiments of a vast majority of the people of New York. We shall rise above political purposes. We shall indulge in no reproaches—patriotic purposes in the past must be shown by patriotic action now. The acts of this day will throw light upon our motives in what we have done, and will influence our conduct in the future.

As I have been placed upon the committee which is to frame resolutions for your consideration, I wish to state my views of the policy which should guide us and the sentiments we should put forth to the world.

Three score and ten years, the period allotted for the life of man, have rolled away since George Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States, in the city of New York. We were then among the feeblest people of the earth. The flag of Great Britain still waved over Oswego with insulting defiance of our national rights, and the treaty recognizing our independence. The powers of the world regarded us with indifference, or treated us with contemptuous injustice. So swift has been our progress under the influence of our Union, that but yesterday we could defy the world in arms, and none dared insult our flag. When our Constitution was inaugu-

rated, the utmost enthusiasm pervaded our land. Stern warriors who had fought the battles of the Revolution wept for joy. Glad processions of men and women marched with triumphal pride along the streets of our cities; holy men of God prayed in His temples that the spirit of fraternal love, which had shaped the compromises of the Constitution, might never fade away, and that sectional bigotry, hate, and discord might never curse our land. Amid this wild enthusiasm there was no imagination so excited, no piety with faith so strong, that it foresaw the full influence of the event then celebrated. Some yet live to see our numbers increased from four to thirty millions; our territories quadrupled and extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific; our power and progress the wonder of the world. Alas! sir, they also live to see the patriotism and fraternal love which have wrought out these marvellous results die out, and the mighty fabric of our Government about to crumble and fall, because the virtues which reared and upheld it have departed from our councils.

What spectacle do we present to-day? Already six States have withdrawn from this confederacy. Revolution has actually begun. The term "secession" divests it of none of its terrors; nor do arguments to prove secession inconsistent with our Constitution stay its progress, or mitigate its evils. All virtue, patriotism, and intelligence seem to have fled from our national Capitol; it has been well likened to the conflagration of an asylum for madmen—some look on with idiotic imbecility, some in sullen silence, and some scatter the fire-brands which consume the fabric above them, and bring upon all a common destruction. Is there one revolting aspect in this scene which has not its parallel at the Capitol of your country? Do you not see there the senseless imbecility, the garrulous idiocy, the maddened rage displayed with regard to petty personal passions and party purposes; while the glory, the honor, and the safety of the country are all forgotten! The same pervading fanaticism has brought evil upon all the institutions of our land. Our churches are torn asunder and desecrated to partisan purposes. The wrongs of our local legislation, the growing burdens of debt and taxation, the gradual destruction of the African in the free States, which is marked by each recurring census, are all due to the neglect of our own duties, caused by the complete absorption of the public mind by a senseless, unreasoning fanaticism. The agitation of the question of slavery has thus far brought greater social, moral, and legislative evils upon the people of the free States than it has upon the institutions of those against whom it has been excited. The wisdom of Franklin stamped upon the first coin issued by our Government the wise motto, "Mind your business!" The violation of the homely proverb which lies at the foundation of the doctrines of local rights, has, thus far, proved more hurtful to the meddlers in the affairs of others than to those against whom this pragmatic action is directed.

The particular subject of controversy at this moment is the territorial question. When our Constitution was framed, our government embraced an area of 820,680 square miles. Since that time it has been expanded by different acquisitions to the vast extent of 2,936,165 square miles. This expansion was not contemplated by the framers of our Constitution; and Mr. Jefferson declared, at the time of the Louisiana purchase, that it should be made the subject of a constitu-

tional amendment. This wise suggestion was unheeded, and we have attempted to govern our different acquisitions by principles inferred from a constitution which did not contemplate such exigencies. It is not surprising, therefore, that the opinions of men and the policy of government have been unsettled and conflicting.

Thus far, the North has had greatly the advantage in the division of these acquisitions, and the political power which emanates from the creation of States made from their limits. Five free and five slave States have been erected from Territories gained since the adoption of our Constitution. The free States have the whole of the Pacific coast; and the largest of value and extent in the remaining Territories lie north of a line which bounds the region where slavery can be employed, and lie, too, upon the pathway of European and Northern immigration. Our acquisitions since 1773 have extended the Southern States and Territories to 882,245 square miles, while the North has expanded to 1,204,204 square miles. Assuming that the North-western Territory belonged to Virginia, and deducting that from the area of the South, it will be found that the South has increased less than fifty per cent, and the North nearly 1100 per cent in extent, since the Revolution. The South has relinquished to the North 251,671 square miles, constituting the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The North has never relinquished one foot of the original territory; and in the division of that which has been acquired, it has succeeded in gaining the largest proportion.

This controversy does not grow out of a claim by either party that the Constitution shall be changed, but with regard to the construction that should be given to that instrument. The South claim that they have a right to take their slaves into all the Territories, by virtue of the constitutional compact, as construed by the Supreme Court, and because slavery originally existed in them, with the exception of those gained from Mexico. They deny that slavery was abolished when they were added to our Union, and they deny the power of Congress to legislate against those rights of property which were recognized in our whole country at the time of the Revolution, and which were upheld by the laws of every State, save one, when the Constitution was formed.

The South does not ask to extend slavery. They say it exists in the Territories. The Republicans assert that slavery shall not be extended. They contend that it does not exist in the Territories; but not content with leaving this question to the decision of the appointed tribunals, they demand legislation in the form of provisos or declarations in the nature of that contained in the ordinance regarding the North-west, which assume the existence of slavery in the disputed regions, in the absence of positive prohibitions. They show a distrust in their own constitutional constructions and historical statements, by demanding congressional interferences and restraints; and under the cry of "No Extension!" they are in fact agitating for repeal and restrictions which are of no significance unless slavery has the legal existence which they deny.

Our fathers disposed of the same or similar difficulties, by compromises. Adjustments have been made from time to time in the progress of our Government. The condition of our affairs forces upon us the alternative of compromise or civil war. Let us contemplate the

latter alternative. We are advised by the conservative States of Virginia and Kentucky that if force is to be used, it must be exerted against the united South. It would be an act of folly and madness, in entering upon this contest, to underrate our opponents, and thus subject ourselves to the disgrace of defeat in an inglorious warfare. Let us also see if successful coercion by the North is less revolutionary than successful secession by the South. Shall we prevent revolution by being foremost in overthrowing the principles of our Government, and all that makes it valuable to our people, and distinguishes it among the nations of the earth? Upon whom are we to wage war? Our own countrymen, whose white population is threefold that of the whole country in the time of the Revolution. Their courage has never been questioned in any contest in which we have been engaged. They battled by our side with equal valor in the Revolutionary struggle, in the last war with Great Britain, and in the Mexican conflict. Virginia sent her sons, under the command of Washington, to the relief of beleaguered Boston. Alone, the South defeated the last and most desperate effort of British power to divide our country, at the battle of New Orleans. From the days of Washington till this time, they have furnished their full proportion of soldiers for the field, of statesmen for the cabinet, and of wise and patriotic senators for our legislative halls.

It is only bigoted ignorance that denies the equality of their public men to those of the North. To assume that our brethren in fifteen States lack the capacity to understand, and the ability to protect their own interests, is to assume that our Government is a failure, and ought to be overturned. It is to declare that nearly one-half of our people are incapable of self-government. They have a vast extent of fertile land, producing not only the cotton, rice, and sugar cultivated in the United States, but a great abundance of the cereals and of animal food. The census of 1850 shows that they produce more than one-half of the Indian-corn and of the live stock raised in the United States; and that they also manufactured one-sixth of the cotton cloth, one-quarter of the raw and one-sixth of the wrought iron made in our country. In addition, they have a vast abundance of coal, iron, copper, and lead, and every element of wealth and strength. They have availed themselves of these advantages to an extent far exceeding what is understood by the people of the North.

I beg those who have been misled by constant and designed misrepresentation, to study the statistics of our country, and they will see how grossly they have been deceived. A war upon them would lead to still greater development of their industry in competition with our own, as the late war with Great Britain made the United States her most formidable competitor in manufacturing and in the arts. When we compare our local legislation with theirs, we have reason to blush. The united debts of the slave States, excepting Virginia and Missouri, are not equal to that of Pennsylvania, and their taxation is less than that imposed upon the people of the State of New York; and yet they have an extended and effective system of internal improvement, while they have avoided the ruinous competition growing out of an undue number of railroads, &c.

In what way is this warfare to be conducted? None have been mad enough to propose to muster armies to occupy their territory.

Great Britain tried that in the Revolution, when the population of the South was less than 2,000,000. She attempted invasion again in the late war, when their numbers were less than 3,500,000. Nay more, while she armed Indian savages to carry murder and rapine into the home of the North, she attempted to excite a servile insurrection in the South. For this we cursed her brutal inhumanity. Her own indignant statesmen expressed their abhorrence on the floor of Parliament; and yet, at this day, those who quote British journals to influence American opinions, have intimated that there might be a gratification of their hate in the burning homes of murdered families of their own countrymen, or by cutting the enbankments of the Mississippi and submerging their land.

But some have suggested with complacent air that the South could be easily subjugated by blockading their ports with a few ships of war. Let these gentlemen study the geography of our country. While the Atlantic coast-line of the Northern States is 851 miles, that of the South, including the Gulf of Mexico, is 3,076. We have 189, and they have 249 harbors. Great Britain, with her immense fleet, attempted blockade, and failed. But, assuming the success of this measure, who are to be the sufferers? Are we waging war upon the South or upon the North? Upon the Southern planter, or upon the Northern merchant, manufacturer, and mechanic? This coasting trade is the chief support of Northern commerce—the prize which Great Britain struggled so long and so persistently to gain. Not only do our ships carry the products of the South, but at this time our manufacturers annually consume of their cotton to the amount of more than \$40,000,000. In the hands of Northern carriers and artisans, this becomes worth more than \$150,000,000. The whole price for the cotton crop received from all the world (about \$200,000,000 each year), is paid out to the labor and industry of the North. We can inflict great misery upon the South; but could human ingenuity devise a warfare more destructive to all the interests of the Northern States of this confederacy? But, say our Republican friends, these evils may be averted by our internal channels. If we thus evade the blockade of the South, to what end is all it cost brought on us? Is it an object to disturb the course of trade, in order to ruin Northern seamen and merchants and cities?

But let us leave these pecuniary considerations for others more weighty with every patriot. Upon what field shall this contest be waged? Upon what spot shall Americans shed American blood? Where, on this broad continent, shall we find the arena where every association and memory of the past will not forbid this fratricidal contest? Or, when unnatural war shall have brought upon our people its ruin, and upon our nation its shame, to what ground shall we be brought at last? To that we should have accepted at the outset.

The question is simply this: Shall we have compromise after the war, or compromise without war? Shall we be aided in this settlement by the loss of national honor, the destruction of individual interest, the shedding of blood, and by carrying misery and mourning into the homes of our people? Mr. President, the honor of the North, the parties to the controversy, and the object in dispute, demand a compromise of this difficulty. I say the honor of the North demands a conciliatory policy. When our Constitution was formed there was but

one free State. To-day there are 19 free and 15 slave States. Then there were but two senators from the free States; now we have a majority of eight in the Senate, and this will soon be increased. Then there were but eight representatives from the free States; under the census of 1860 we will have the proportion of 151 members to 75. Then our population was about equally divided between the Northern and Southern States (the North 1,968,455, the South 1,961,372); to-day we number more than 18,000,000, they about 12,000,000.

These results are due not alone to natural causes, but to the policy that favored the commercial interest and immigration from other lands. This policy has ever been upheld loyally by the South, and history tells you by whom it was opposed. Would it not be base and cowardly to withhold at this day those courtesies and that consideration which we showed in the days of their comparative strength? Did not one of our distinguished senators then declare that comity demanded that we should permit them to travel through our State with their slaves, and that therefore he was opposed to the repeal of the law which allowed them to remain here for a period of nine months; and did not his colleague, then a member of the House of Representatives, vote against allowing a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia to be read or referred? Were bills designed to embarrass the exercise of their rights to reclaim fugitives then found upon the statute-books of the Northern States? By the increase of our population, under the adjustment of the Constitution, the power and control of the destinies of our country are placed in the hands of the North. Does not every sentiment of patriotism and of honesty demand that we shall exercise this power in a spirit of conciliation and forbearance? And is it not a just cause for alarm to our Southern brethren to find men and journals who stood by them in the past, now becoming their most bitter and unscrupulous assailants, when their political power is weakened?

It grows out of the acquisition of Territories not contemplated by the Constitution—out of an expansion of our territory from 820,680 to 2,936,166 square miles. In the progress of our country this has given rise to conflicting views, and our leading statesmen have at different times held inconsistent opinions. Mr. Calhoun at one time decided, while a member of the cabinet, that Congress had the power of legislating upon territorial questions. At a later day he took the opposite ground. John Quincy Adams, who opposed the admission of Missouri as a slave State in 1836, on the occasion of the admission of Arkansas used the following language:

“MR. CHAIRMAN—I cannot consistently with my sense of my obligations as a citizen of the United States, and bound by oath to support their Constitution, *I cannot object to the admission of Arkansas into the Union as a slave State; I cannot propose or agree to make it a condition of her admission that a Convention of her people shall expunge this article from her Constitution.* She is entitled to admission as a slave State as Louisiana and Mississippi, and Alabama and Missouri, have been admitted, by virtue of that article in the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana, which secures to the inhabitants of the ceded Territories all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the original citizens of the United States, and stipulates for their admission, conformably to that principle, into the Union. Louisiana was pur-

chased as a country wherein slavery was the established law of the land. As Congress have not power in time of peace to abolish slavery in the original States of the Union, they are equally destitute of the power in those parts of the territory ceded by France to the United States by the name of Louisiana, where slavery existed at the acquisition. Slavery is, in the Union, the subject of internal legislation in the States, and in peace is cognizable by Congress only, as it is tacitly tolerated and protected where it exists by the Constitution of the United States, and as it mingles in their intercourse with other nations. Arkansas, therefore, *comes, and has the right to come*, into the Union with her slaves and her slave laws. It is written in the bond, and however I may lament that it ever was so written, I must faithfully perform its obligations."

The region acquired by the Louisiana purchase, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian line, and, on its northern limit, reaching from the Mississippi to the Pacific, comprehends most that is valuable and important of the remaining Territories. Citizens of the South hold as confidently and as sincerely that they are entitled to carry their slaves into this region, as does the Republican that they have no such right. We have had, heretofore, similar questions of jurisdiction between our own and foreign governments. When Great Britain seized, in the north-east, a portion of our country which we held by the sacred title gained by the blood and sufferings of the Revolution, every American believed it was an unjust invasion; but we adjusted the difficulty by a new boundary. Again, when she made a claim on a part of the same Louisiana purchase on the north-west coast, we denied its justice, but yielded up to the jurisdiction of the crown 167,365 square miles of the most valuable part of the Pacific coast, including its finest harbors and greatest commercial facilities. We gave up an area greater than New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey combined. Shall we yield to a foreign nation and to a system of government condemned by our Constitution, what we will not concede to our own countrymen? Shall we, for the sake of peace, subject vast regions to principles of government antagonistic to our own, and then destroy our Union by refusing a compromise which would give to the South the occupation of a less valuable territory, in consideration of their giving up what they believe to be their constitutional right to occupy the whole? Is there any reason why we should be less conciliatory now than we have been heretofore; and are there not obvious ones why we should be more so, in view of our relative power? Did the men who now raise the cry of no compromise and no concession, hold that language when we had a controversy with the crown of Great Britain?

Let us look at the objections which are urged to this policy. It is said this question was decided at the late election. Questions of constitutional law are not to be decided by elections; if they were, our Constitution would be worthless, and all its guarantees of the rights of States and of individuals, of rights of conscience and religious liberty, might be annihilated. Neither is it true that the late canvass shows that the popular will is opposed to compromise. Mr. Lincoln was made President by a constitutional vote, and is entitled to our loyal and cheerful support, and he shall have it; but this is not the only result of the late contest.

If two millions of voters declared themselves in favor of the principles put forth by his party, three millions declared themselves opposed to them; if the Republicans triumphed in the choice of the Executive, we triumphed in gaining Congress, which makes the laws he is bound to carry out, without regard to his own views. If all parties will yield to the results of the last election, and the President elect will declare that he will be governed by the will of the people and not by the will of a party, and that he will not exert the influence of his place to defeat measures of compromise, peace will be restored to our land. I hold that those who point to the Chicago platform, and not to the Constitution, as the guide of his conduct, do him a base wrong. I know that there are some that treat him as a man with manacles upon his hands; who boast that they hold in the Chicago platform a chattel mortgage upon his conscience and his opinion. All honest men declare if he allows his declarations put forth in the heat of a political contest to control his actions against his own judgment, he will deserve impeachment and degradation from his high office. I repel, for one, the imputations thus made against Mr. Lincoln, and the claims thus impudently put forth to personal and peculiar liens on his views, as most injurious to his honor and his influence. Before the election, it was said by his friends he was the man best fitted to adjust the jarring conflicts of the day. Let him then continue to hold the national and dispassionate position which was then claimed for him. We invoke the Republicans not to charge that he will be a traitor to his country, by making a partisan creed, and not the solemn oath of his office, the guide of his conduct.

It is also said that the honor and dignity of our Government will not permit measures of compromise at this moment. When the present difficulty was only threatened, we were told, in answer to our appeals for an adjustment, that there was no cause for alarm; that the South could not be driven out of the Union; the time had not come for compromises. Now, that six States have withdrawn, we are told it is too late; that the dignity of the Government will not permit it to make concessions. The error consists in confounding the action of a few States with the position of the whole South. We admit that you cannot offer constitutional compromises to States that declare themselves outside of the pale of the Constitution. But is the attitude of South Carolina to be urged against the appeals of patriotic men in Virginia? Are we to drive the border States into concert of action with those who defy the power of our Government? Are we to give an impulse to revolution by indifference to the appeals of patriotic men, and by insulting threats of coercion, and by irritating displays of power? Which cause was helped at the South by the tender of arms by our own State—that of Union, or that of Secession? All know that the future fate of our country depends upon the action of the border States; and while the beam trembles, New York throws its sword into the scale and inclines it in favor of revolution. This called from the conservative Governor of Virginia, the declaration that “nothing that has occurred in the progress of this controversy has been worse timed and less excusable. If New York desires to preserve the Union, a tender of men and money, under the promptings of passion, prejudice, and excitement, will not produce this result.”

We do not ask concessions for men in open resistance to Government, but to those who are struggling for the preservation of our Union. Shall we have no sympathy for those upon whom the whole weight of this contest falls? Can we listen, unmoved, to the entreaties of the Governor of Maryland, of the Senator of Kentucky, or refuse to second the patriotic efforts of Virginia? Can we so entirely forget the past history of our country, that we can stand upon the point of pride against States whose citizens battled with our fathers and poured out with them their blood upon the soil of our State, amid the Highlands of the Hudson, and on the fields of Saratoga? I ask the old men within the sound of my voice, to what quarter did you look for sympathy during the last war with Great Britain, when New York was assailed upon the shores of Erie and Ontario, and when the disciplined troops who had successfully fought against Napoleon in the Peninsula, invaded us with co-operating fleets by the channel of Lake Champlain? Was it not to the States of the South? Is it well that States which then refused to allow their militia to pass their own borders to combat a common enemy, should be so prompt to tender them now to battle against our own countrymen?

But it is urged as a further objection, that at the instance of the South we once compromised this territorial question, and that it has been untrue to the adjustment, although it was made at its own request, and against the wishes of the North. This misstatement has been most injurious in its influence upon the public mind. The Governor of New York, in his late message, says this State strenuously opposed the establishment of the compromise line of 1820. In this he is mistaken; it was voted for by every Northern senator, and the only opposition to this line came from the South. The New York senators voted against the admission of Missouri, even after the passage of the act establishing the line at 36 degrees 30 minutes. The establishment of this line was a Northern measure—every Northern man voting for it;—the whole opposition to it coming from the South. It is true that after the amendment was engrafted on the bill, many Northern men voted against the act; but that was opposition to the admission of Missouri, and not to the line. The South was compelled to accede to it to secure the admission of Missouri, but it always held it to be an infringement upon its rights. Even when this concession was made to the North, the senators from this and other Northern States, whose votes engrafted in the bill what is called the compromise line, voted against the act. The South did not even gain by this concession the votes of Northern senators, except two—one from New Hampshire, and one from Rhode Island. Mr. Lincoln admits that this opposition to the admission of Missouri was unjustifiable, and that he was in favor of letting new States come into this confederacy with or without slavery, as they might elect. In offering to take this line, which gives to the North the largest share of the most valuable portion of our Territories, it feels that it is meeting us more than half way in its efforts for adjustment.

But it is said that a compromise of this controversy will be a sacrifice of principle to which honest men cannot assent. Then the Constitution itself cannot be supported by honest men, for it is based upon and made up of compromises. It is not proposed to make a new Constitution, or to alter the terms of the existing one. All parties

at the North and South alike claim that they only demand their present rights under that instrument; but owing to causes to which I have referred, an antagonism springs up in regard to its construction, and this must be settled by force or by adjustment. Let us take care that we do not mistake passion and prejudice and partisan purposes for principle. The cry of "no compromise" is false in morals; it is treason to the spirit of the Constitution; it is infidelity in religion;—the cross itself is a compromise, and is pleaded by many who refuse all charity to their fellow-citizens. It is the vital principle of social existence; it unites the family circle, it sustains the church, and upholds nationalities.

But the Republicans complain that, having won a victory, we ask them to surrender its fruits. We do not wish them to give up any political advantage. We urge measures which are demanded by the honor and the safety of our Union. Can it be that they are less concerned than we are? Will they admit that they have interests antagonistic to those of the whole commonwealth? Are they making sacrifices, when they do that which is required by the common welfare?

The objects of this Convention are, to assure the conservative men of the South that they have at least the sympathy of 312,000 electors of New York in the contest in which they are engaged, and to keep the border States in the Union, and thus ultimately restore its integrity. But we have another purpose. This is not the time for the exhibition of party spirit. We propose to bury party differences; we seek to restore the moral power of New York so that it may now, as in times past, be the theatre upon which the cause of our country shall triumph. To do this we must have unity of action; all must agree to submit to some tribunal. The present difficulties have sprung into existence since the last popular election; they have taken this whole community by surprise, and conflicting views are held with regard to the proper line of action. To secure this union of purpose, for one, I am in favor of making an appeal to the Republicans and to the Legislature of this State, to submit the proposition of Senator Crittenden to the vote of the people of New York; if it is approved, then we will exert ourselves to secure an adjustment upon that basis; if, upon the other hand, it is rejected, then we shall know that the people of this State are opposed to the policy of compromise and conciliation. I do not fear the result. But if it is, unhappily, true that the ultra Republicans represent the people of the State, then are the days of the Republic numbered. Then the future is dark and uncertain.

We may have not only one, but many confederacies. Before we are involved in the evils and horrors of domestic war, let those upon whom it will bring bankruptcy and ruin, and into whose homes it may carry desolation and death, be allowed to speak in favor of the policy of peace. If the Legislature do not, it will be because they dare not let the popular sentiment be uttered. If the public voice is heard, all will yield to its decisions, and we shall be united in action. In the downfall of our nation, and amidst its crumbling ruins, we will cling to the fortunes of New York. We will stand together, and so shape the future, that its glory, and greatness, and wonderful advantages shall not be sacrificed to rival interests. We will loyally follow

its flag through the gloom and perils of the future, and in the saddest hour there will remain a gleam of hope, and we can still hail with pride the motto emblazoned on its shield, **EXCELSIOR!**

**Mr. Seymour at the Democratic Ratification Meeting,
Utica, N. Y., October 28, 1861.**

The War attributable to a neglect of Washington's Injunctions—The Duty of Citizens to the Government—Reciprocal Duty of the Government to the People—Official Wrongs a Matter for Future Investigation—The Government must be furnished with Means to conduct the War to a successful Issue—Beneficial Influence of the Camp—The Soldiers qualified to fix the terms of Peace—Valor of the South—Agitators condemned—Indissolubility of the Union—Abolition of Slavery impossible—Protest against Disbanding the Democratic Party—Attack on the Union Party Movement.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS—The calamities which have been so often foreshown as the results of sectional strife, have at length fallen upon our nation. The American people would not heed the warning of their fathers; they have refused to live together in the spirit of the Constitution. As they grew great and prosperous, the admonitions of those who pointed out the coming storms were derided, and they were denounced as alarmists. If you wish to know why a bloody and ferocious civil war now rages in our land, read again the Farewell Address of George Washington, and you will find that his warnings have become history.

As if to mock the national prosperity which has made us so boastful and so confident, our calamities come when unusual wealth fills our treasuries, and when our fertile soil feeds famishing nations, sustains great armies, and still leaves our granaries overflowing with golden stores. The official returns of our population, wealth, and resources have startled the world. Yet the day of our material prosperity is the day of our humiliation.

We have not yet felt the full force of the impending storm. The clouds of war, in growing and blackening masses, still hang about our national Capitol. We see at intervals flashes of its lightning, we hear its moanings along the borders of rivers, the shores of oceans; and big pattering drops of blood tell of the tempest which is soon to carry mourning, desolation, and death into the homes of the American people.

In this dark hour, what shall conservative and patriotic men do, who have vainly struggled in the past to avert these calamities? How shall we make this war, which we have foreseen and foretold, minister to the good of our country? It is the inevitable result of the evils against which we have combated. We must now accept it as the stern teacher which must be heard by those who have closed their ears to our arguments and entreaties.

In war, as in peace, we must still toil with patriotic purposes for our country's honor and welfare. The wisdom and patriotism of our forefathers grew up and was strengthened amid the trials of the Revolutionary struggle. It is our duty so to direct the fratricidal contest in which we are engaged, that the waning wisdom and decaying patriotism of this day shall be renewed and reinvigorated by the sufferings and misery it will occasion.

I do not propose to renew the discussions of the past. We leave the past to the judgment of the future. In other times its record will be read, and the just verdict be given upon the conduct and motives of all. We are content to abide the result. Let us now confront the duties of the present hour. What shall our conduct be? We are to keep on with our battle against disloyalty in the North and the South alike. Our pathways still lead straight onward against the enemies of our Union, and against those who make their prejudices and passions higher laws than the laws of our land.

First, and above all, we are to show obedience to constituted authorities, and devotion and respect for legal and constitutional obligations. We are admonished by Washington, "that respect for the authority of government, compliance with its laws, and acquiescence with its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty." "The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government." The primal sin of disobedience is not only the immediate cause of this war, but its spirit has also sapped and weakened the foundations of our Municipal, State, and National authority in every part of our land. It is the great underlying cause of all our calamities. The spirit of disobedience permeates our social system; it renders law powerless, and strips men of their rights and of due protection to their persons and property. Obedience is the basis of all family, political, and religious organizations. It is the principle of cohesion that holds society together, without which it crumbles into atoms. Yet we have seen a disregard of this vital principle shown in scenes of violence in the halls of our national Capitol; in the exposed corruptions of State legislation; and in the abuses of municipal government. We have heard disobedience to laws taught in our pulpits, and commended by the press. It breaks out like plague-spots all over our land, showing that the disease pervades our political system. This war, the terrible contest in which we are engaged, grows out of the pervading malady. We must not only put down revolt, but we must also teach our people the duty of obedience to laws, in all places and under all circumstances.

Among other reasons why I wish to stand before you as a member of the Democratic party, and why I wish to see its standard raised at this time, is this:

In common with the majority of the American people, I deplored the election of Mr. Lincoln as a great calamity; yet he was chosen in a constitutional manner, and we wish as a defeated organization to show our loyalty by giving him a just and generous support. After the contest was over, we implored the victors to make some efforts, in a spirit of magnanimity, to avert the coming storm, and at least to submit to our people some plan of compromise, that their voice

might be heard before they were made to suffer the evils of civil war, and desolation and death carried into their homes. Our prayers were unheeded, and those who held power in their hands decided upon a different policy. It was their constitutional right to decide, and it was our constitutional duty to obey. With sorrowful hearts we submitted to that decision. Amid the humiliations of defeat, and under all the mortifications of unheeded entreaties and divided counsels, we still stand firm and loyal in the support of our Government, and as a great patriotic organization, we mean even in defeat to serve our country by an exhibition of obedience to constituted authorities. And we have but one further request to make of our political opponents,—to be as obedient as we shall be to the administration they have placed in power against our efforts and our convictions in regard to the public interests. And we shall ask no price for this obedience. We shall not attempt to dictate a policy to our Government, by threatening a withdrawal of our support if our peculiar views of policy are not pursued. We shall demand no invasions of the Constitution to gratify our passions. We shall countenance no ambitious general who is willing to embarrass the supreme authority to gain the applause of a faction. We shall tolerate no attempts to make the calamities of our country the occasion of ambitious and unscrupulous men to gain power and place. We shall not consent that this war shall be made the beginning of a presidential contest; and if the people of the North are to be divided in the support of this administration by a line of policy which shall make discord and confusion in the public mind, we shall not be the authors of the disgrace which must inevitably follow.

The President of these United States can rely upon our support, for we have a due sense of loyalty and obedience. We will not weaken his policy, he will not be embarrassed by us, so long as he keeps himself within the limits of his constitutional rights. Will the Republican party do as much as this? Would not Mr. Lincoln himself be compelled to say, if called upon to testify, that the embarrassments, annoyances, and perplexities which he has encountered have come, not from us, but from that discordant organization which put him in the presidential chair? The spirit of discord, contention, and disloyalty which has brought our country to the verge of ruin, now threatens the very administration which it placed in power.

But at this time our country is startled by measures so unusual under our Government, that guards so cautiously the rights of its citizens, that alarm has been excited lest our Constitution should be trampled under foot by the authorities at Washington. The writ of *habeas corpus* has been suspended; citizens of our own and other States have been seized and imprisoned without due process of law, shut up beyond the reach of our legal tribunals, deprived of all means of asserting their innocence, or even knowing the charges upon which they were seized; the public has been kept in ignorance of the causes of these apparent violations of rights in which every American citizen is alike interested. These acts seem to spring from the despotism of the Old World, and naturally excite the deep concern of all who regard constitutional liberty; and we are constantly asked, what is our duty with respect to these extraordinary measures? We must bear in mind that our country is now engaged in a struggle for

its existence. We must place confidence in the administration until events prove that that confidence is undeserved. We must assume that there are imperative reasons for these unusual measures, which in due time will be given to the American people. The exigencies of the day may require that they be withheld for the present. It is our duty to suspend our judgments, and to give to the administration every presumption in its favor. But it must not be supposed that these acts are to be overlooked or forgotten. When the public safety will permit, we shall insist upon an explanation of every apparent injustice and wrong.

While we will not embarrass the Government by premature discussion, I wish to express my detestation and abhorrence of the doctrines that have been asserted in many quarters with regard to the effect of war upon our Constitution and our laws. The monstrous proposition that our civil or religious rights are held in abeyance, or unprotected in times of disorder, makes our whole system of government a mockery. If this Constitution of ours, in defence of which we pour forth our blood and treasure, is but a fair-weather thing, which gives us no security in times of violence, when alone we need its protection, then the wisdom of our fathers was but folly, and we must admit to the world that constitutional governments are no better than despotisms. The great personal rights of freedom of conscience, of the protection of our persons, the sacredness of our homes, the trial by jury, the freedom from arbitrary arrests, the powers of our State, and the restraints upon our General Government, must stand or fall together. We will give to the apparent violators of these rights the presumption of innocence which is presupposed in the case of every alleged violator of law. We admit that they shall be made the subjects of investigation and of judgment, when they may be calmly and fairly considered. We concede that this is not the time to denounce, to condemn, or to commend them. But they will hereafter be earnestly considered by the American people. If the rights of any citizen of our land, from partisan malice, or even indifference, have been trampled upon, we will demand such punishments upon the authors, whether they occupy the presidential chair or seats in cabinets, or are the more humble instruments of official power, as will teach men in authority that they are to restrain themselves within the limits of their legal and constitutional jurisdiction. As we intend to be rigid in the performance of all our duties as citizens, as we mean to be just towards those in authority in giving them every presumption of innocence, as we require no exposition of their reasons at times inconsistent with the public welfare, so, too, shall we be zealous in exacting a full vindication of all apparent violations of these rights, which patriots in our own and other lands struggled so many painful years to assert and establish. It is the boast of the Briton that his house is his castle. However humble it may be, although the winds of heaven may beat upon it, and the rains may enter it, the king cannot. Let it not be said that the liberties of American citizens are less perfectly protected, or held less sacred than are those of the subjects of a crown.

As I read to you the admonitions of George Washington as to the duties of a citizen, let me also read to those in office his warnings to those in authority:

"It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those interested in its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon the other. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position."

We owe other duties to our Government. We must strengthen its armies, and furnish it with means to conduct this war to a successful issue. The day has gone by for efforts to avert it. When the American people refused to live together in the spirit of the Constitution, when they rejected all adjustment of controversies, they made the sword the last and only arbiter. Consistency demands that we who strove to avert the war should now strive to make it productive of those ends which we sought to reach by peaceful measures. All theories of government, that of centralization or that of State rights, require that we should stand by the standards of our State in the battle-field. Even the Secessionist asserts this to be our duty. The Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy declares that he shall be governed by the policy of his State, against the dictates of his judgment. Do we not owe as much allegiance to New York as Mr. Stephens does to Georgia? If he follows the banner of his State when it leads to assault upon our Union, shall we not follow ours to its protection? We are bound, then, by the fealty due as well to our State as to our nation, to support this Administration by our arms and by our resources.

Deep concern is felt by many lest the enrolment of such vast bodies of our citizens into military organizations, and the influence of the camp upon their habits of life and modes of thought, should be productive hereafter of dangers to our Government. I entertain none of these fears. I know that the camp develops the bad qualities of bad men; but, on the other hand, it is favorable to the highest exhibitions of virtue, of gentleness, and of heroism. The bigotry of fanatics and the intrigues of statesmen have left more bloody traces upon the pages of history than the ambition of soldiers. The virtues of gentleness, of moderation, of courtesy, have shone conspicuous in military annals. The wars of the crusades introduced into Europe the more refined arts of Eastern life; and the era of chivalry, when arms were deemed the most honorable pursuit of men, laid the foundation for those courtesies and amenities of society, and amelioration of the horrors of war, which are characteristic of modern civilization. The very dangers and necessities of the battle-field compel an observance of those rules which contribute to the mutual safety of those who are engaged in it. While he who stays at home and cries havoc, and demands that no mercy shall be shown to the enemy taken in arms, the soldier whose life is perilled by such ferocious and barbarous sentiments, demands that war shall be conducted upon every principle of mercy and forbearance consistent with the end for which it is waged. Beyond all other men, he is taught to value the blessings of peace. Beyond all other men, he values the virtues of mercy, of gentleness, and of charity. When our Saviour hung upon the cross, when priests and Pharisees mocked his suffering, a soldier alone discerned his divinity, when he heard him pour forth a prayer for mercy and

forgiveness for the authors of his sufferings. I have never detected in the writings of the heroes of our own Revolution one ferocious sentiment expressed towards our enemies. I have never heard from the lips of those who are enrolled in our army one expression of malice or hatred towards the citizens of the Southern States. While I have listened with pain to sentiments uttered in places where Christian charity and forbearance should be manifested, I have heard from those who peril their lives in the defence of our Union, sentiments more generous and more just towards those with whom they are engaged in deadly conflict. They have learned upon the battle-field that the charge that the citizens of the South were cowardly, were incapable of manly exertion, or destitute of virtuous or heroic qualities, was a malignant libel upon the American character.

If it was in my power to name those who should determine upon what principle this war should cease, and what measures should be adopted to restore the former fraternal regard between the citizens of different sections of our land, I should select the armies which now confront each other upon the banks of the Potomac. Deeply as I have deplored this unnatural contest, I believe that the mutual respect which must be the basis of future reconciliation, can only be gained upon the battle-field. Every act of chivalry, of heroism, and of fortitude displayed by American citizens, North or South, tends to restore those sentiments of mutual respect without which our Union cannot stand. In no other way can we wipe out the effects of misrepresentation, of calumny, of passion, and of prejudice.

I hope and believe that our arms are to triumph in this contest; but I do not believe, nor do I wish, that the men of the South should prove themselves unworthy of being our fellow-citizens. If I thought they were what they have been represented to be by the authors of that sectional agitation that has brought our country into its present peril, I would not wish to bring them back again into this confederacy. While I look upon them as mistaken and misguided men, while I know that they have listened too much to the counsels of ambitious leaders among themselves, and to the malignant attacks of those of the North who hate and denounce the Constitution of our Government, I know they possess in common with ourselves the virtues, the heroism, and the determination which mark the American character.

We are to triumph only by virtue of superior numbers, of greater resources, and a juster cause. Our fellow-citizens who are now volunteering to fight the battles of our Government, do not go there with the expectation of encountering feeble or cowardly forces. They have been foremost in denouncing and correcting the unjust impressions which have been caused by false statements and charges. They have defended, and will continue to defend, with jealous care and with chivalrous pride the reputations of those against whom they have struggled in the deadly combat. They feel for the armies of the South the

"Stern joy which warriors feel,
In foemen worthy of their steel."

Those who enter our armies are animated by patriotic impulses. They swear to uphold our Constitution, and they will do it. They rally to support our laws, and they learn and practise in the camp those habits of obedience which are essential alike to true liberty and

a vigorous government. When peace is restored, and after they have made those great sacrifices for their country, will they look with favor upon agitators who have made those sacrifices necessary? Will they tolerate the doctrine that laws are not to be obeyed, simply because a portion of our citizens claim to be inspired by a higher virtue than animates our Government or pervades our statutes? I tell you that at all times in the history of our country, those men have proved themselves most loyal to the principles of our Government, to the supremacy of our laws, who have been ready to peril their lives and their fortunes in their defence.

In addition to strengthening our Government by obedience and by our armies and resources, it is our duty to inquire into the causes of this war. Guilty agitators at the North and South, who now shrink back affrighted at the terrible evils which they have brought upon their respective communities, and who dread the resentment of an indignant people, seek to create the impression that this war was inevitable, and not the work of their counsels. They agree in saying that slavery and the Union cannot coexist. At the South they insist that the continuance of the Union involves destruction of their rights, their interests, and their safety. Their collaborators of the North use the same argument, and insist that the institutions of the South must be destroyed if the Union is to be restored.

I deny that slavery is the cause of this war. It has always existed in our land. It was here when our Government was formed. It has existed during our wonderful progress as a nation. It has never occupied so small a proportion of our territory, or wielded so little power in our national representations, as at this day. But I admit that it is one of the principal subjects of controversy. But we must not confound the causes of contention with the subjects of contention. They are frequently distinct. When fanaticism put incendiary torches to churches in our land, were these churches the cause of public disorder, or was it bigotry which disgraced the religion it professed to honor? When our citizens of foreign birth were persecuted with malignant hate, were they the cause of controversy? and was their removal the proper mode of restoring peace? or was the ignorance and illiberality which would drive them from our shores to be rebuked and corrected?

If it is true that slavery must be abolished to save this Union, then the people of the South should be allowed to withdraw themselves from that Government which cannot give them the protection guaranteed by its terms.

Among the prominent causes of this war, agitation upon the subject of slavery stands foremost. Ambitious men at the South, who desire a separate confederacy, and those who believe that their material interests will be advanced by the dissolution of the Union, have successfully alarmed their fellow-citizens as to the security not alone of their property, but for the safety and the lives of their families. Unaided, these leaders could not have stirred up the South to its present insurrection. Unfortunately this subject of slavery afforded ambitious men at the North, and those engaged in the philanthropic line of business, who reaped a political profit from agitation, an opportunity to exasperate the North in respect to an institution which in fact was rapidly concentrating and limiting itself to that portion of our country engaged in particular pursuits.

Every day's progress of this war shows how successful they were in deceiving the people of the North with respect to the condition, the resources, and the power of the South. Even the man they placed in the presidential chair did not know the material condition of the country over which he was called to preside as chief-magistrate. Leading members of his administration and his principal supporters have, within the limits of a single year, declared that the South could not and would not make any resistance to our Government; that they were incapable of maintaining a war; that they could not, without our aid, hold their own slaves in subjection; that they lacked the resources to uphold a separate existence. Belief in these assertions determined the result of the last presidential contest.

Yet, at the very outset of his administration, the President was compelled to correct a mass of misapprehensions, and to show the falseness of the very statements that elevated him to power, by a demand for vast armies and enormous contributions of money to uphold his Government, and to save the national capital from the grasp of those who had been stigmatized as incapable of even maintaining themselves, unaided by our powers and our resources. I need not dwell upon the false impressions which have been made upon the Northern mind. Every day's events dispel them with a power which words do not possess. The chief cause, then, of this war, has been an agitation upon the subject of slavery, carried on against the warnings and admonitions of the wise, the good, and the patriotic, and based upon a system of falsehoods and misrepresentations which now stand exposed in all their enormity.

But there are secondary causes which must not be overlooked, evils that must be corrected if we hope to restore our Government. In vain will our victorious armies traverse the territory of the South, in vain shall we win victories upon the battle-field, if the American people do not go back to the wisdom, the loyalty, and the patriotism of our fathers. It is our duty in this day of peril to confront all the evils which beset us, to use all plainness of speech in pointing out our national errors and defects. I have already spoken of our habits of disobedience to laws, and want of respect for constituted authorities. We are also neglectful in the performance of our political duties. The theory of our Government, which gives to us unusual rights, implies that an exercise of these rights is essential to the success of our system. And yet it is true that that class of our citizens whose social position, whose personal influence, or whose fortune, gives them the greatest power for the preservation of the purity of the elective franchise, are those who are the most criminal and neglectful in this respect. They demand a spotless judiciary, honest legislation, a vigorous executive, yet they do nothing to secure them. They ask the protection of law for their property and their persons, and yet they are unwilling to exercise powers which are both rights and duties. Not a few deem their personal respectability increased by the boast that they give no attention to political affairs. They ask for the advantages of good government, but are unwilling to put forth the efforts to secure them. Our gross ignorance in regard to our own country disclosed by this war, the disorders in our Government, the present condition of our public affairs, are due mainly to the selfish conduct of those who charge that our institutions have failed to meet the expect-

tations of the framers, when the only failure has been their neglect to perform the duties of good citizenship. It is difficult to say who does the most to destroy our Government—the man who boasts that he has nothing to do with politics, or the man who makes politics a trade. They are equally selfish, unpatriotic, and disloyal. The spirit of patriotism had almost died out in our land, until it was revived by recent events. It was looked upon as a mere speculative enthusiasm. The most eloquent and the most forcible exposition of the duty of a patriotic love to our country has been regarded as we should regard a beautiful description of the setting sun, a mere rhetorical effort of no practical value. What will the war in which we are engaged do towards remedying these evils? It has already done much in correcting popular misapprehensions; it has displayed the enormous power of both the Northern and the Southern States. We are already more intelligent than we were at the commencement. We admit that we have underrated our countrymen. We have been taught that this Union, which many regarded so lightly a few months since, is indispensable to our peace and prosperity. We have discovered the great reciprocal value of the productions of the North and the South. We begin to see, as our fathers saw, that this wonderful country of ours is knit together by rivers, lakes, and its great natural features, and must not be disunited. We have learned when we shut the ports of the South, that we close the factories of the North. The men of the North and the South now feel the mutual dependence of the buyer and the seller, of the producer and consumer. The ignorance shown by the people of the South in regard to our power, our resources, and our wealth, has filled us with astonishment. But we now make the discovery that our ignorance in regard to them was equally dense and disreputable. Six months since we deemed that man most patriotic who believed that 20,000 men could march through the Southern States, and put down this rebellion. We suspected the loyalty of him who held that 100,000 men were unequal to the task. We now find that we deemed ignorance loyalty, and we denounced intelligence as treasonable.

This war, then, with its multiplied evils, has brought with it many and significant benefits. But it must do much more before it makes us as patriotic, as intelligent, and as loyal as our fathers were. But if the war should cease to-day, we have secured one teacher who will be faithful in his annual round in reminding our people of their lack of wisdom in neglecting the counsels of the framers of the Government. The tax-gatherer each year will enter our houses. Let us read his warrant aright, and it will tell us that he comes to exact the penalties due for neglected duties—the lack of patriotism and the want of intelligence which has enabled ambitious and designing men to plunge our country into an unnatural and fratricidal contest. Inattention to public, as well as to private affairs puts mortgages upon our farms and encumbrances upon our possessions.

I shall not attempt to foreshadow the consequences of this war. I do not claim a spirit of prophecy. We have had too much of the irreverence that treats the finger of God like the fingers upon the guide-posts, and makes it point to the paths which men wish to have pursued. But I believe that we are either to be restored to our former position, with the Constitution unweakened, and the powers

of the States unimpaired, and the fireside rights of our citizens duly protected, or that our whole system of government is to fail. If this contest is to end in a revolution; if a more arbitrary government is to grow out of its ruins, I do not believe that even then the wishes of ultra and violent men will be gratified. Let them remember the teachings of history. Despotie governments do not love the agitators that call them into existence. When Cromwell drove out from Parliament the latter-day saints and higher-law men of his day, and "bade them cease their vain babblings;" and when Napoleon scattered at the point of the bayonet the Council of Five Hundred, and crushed revolution beneath his iron heel, they taught a lesson which should be heeded this day by men who are animated by a vindictive piety or a malignant philanthropy.

No strong government which may be evoked by the present political convulsions in our land will consent to disorganize and destroy the Southern States by giving immediate freedom to 4,000,000 uneducated Africans. Revolution, while it will destroy the liberties of our land, will also crush out all higher-law doctrines; and we appeal to the Abolitionists of our country to consider if a due regard for their own security does not demand that this contest shall be adjusted at the first practicable moment, upon terms that shall leave the affairs of the people of the South to their own control and management.

The Democratic party has been urged at this time to abandon its organization. It has been said that political purposes should now be laid aside. This is true. But we must not confound political organizations with partisan purposes. Will any one admit that heretofore the parties to which they have been attached have had no higher objects than political triumphs?

We believe that we can best promote the interests of our country by preserving our time-honored organization. It has been so closely identified with the history and progress of our country, that its dissolution would seem like the severance of the last bond which holds our country together. I know that many of our patriotic citizens, and those for whom I entertain a strong personal regard, have united in this movement with a belief that they should thereby secure a greater degree of unity of action among our people. They felt that past divisions should be overlooked. I appeal to them if these expectations and hopes have been realized? Has this movement produced unanimity of purpose, or has it caused confusion? Has it made fewer parties, or more parties?

We do not object to this organization that its members or its nominees held different views in the past; but we do object to it that they hold discordant opinions now. We do not object to it that they held different purposes heretofore; but that they are pursuing different objects at this time. The election of its ticket will not carry harmony and unity of purpose to your State Capitol, but discord and confusion. Its very authors have admitted that this movement was a great mistake. It is simply a party which is all union and no harmony; it agrees in regard to offices, and disagrees with respect to principles. One wing of this organization is conservative and patriotic, the other is violent and revolutionary. Some of its nominees have avowed the most extreme doctrines of the Secessionists of the South, others agree with the ultra Abolitionists of the North. Which

class will prevail? If they are placed in power, no principle will be settled, no contest will be ended. Controversies will begin with their advent to place.

I appeal to the conservative and patriotic men who have joined that organization, if they are acting wisely and well in affiliating with those whose principles and purposes they detest, or in placing in office men whom they believe to have been instrumental in causing this war, and who do not hold one purpose as to the future in common with themselves? Are they not contributing to bring about the very evils and calamities which they wish to avoid? If they succeed, what influence will any conservative or patriotic man have in the State? Their nominees are supported most cordially by every journal and every class of men who have not only been vindictive, violent, and revolutionary in the past, but are also vindictive, violent, and revolutionary now.

I implore the patriotic and conservative men who have heretofore acted with this organization for conservative purposes, to pause and ponder, and see if they are not about to fall into the hands of those from whom they differ most widely. This movement is not only dangerous, but absurd. There is usually attached to the travelling menageries of our country an exhibition called the "happy family," where animals of the most opposite character are penned together in one cage. We admire the skill that seems to subdue their natural instincts to rend and destroy each other, and are surprised to see birds, beasts, and reptiles living in apparent harmony. This may do for one of the curiosities of a museum, but it will not answer for the government of a State. It will be found that the passions and prejudices of men are not so easily subdued, and our political "happy family" will be found to be not only a blunder but a disaster.

But is the proposition of our Republican friends, that they will dissolve their organization, and that we shall give up ours, quite fair and equal? Their party is but a thing of yesterday. It grew out of a sectional passion or prejudice. It never embraced our whole country within its organization. Its first victory is associated with the ruin of our land. If they wish to abandon it, let them do so; but let them not attempt to cover that abandonment by a proposal that we shall give up a party which is identified with the greatness, the progress, and the power of our nation.

It has been well said by one of our townsmen, that if an American citizen, returning from abroad and ignorant of the events which have happened within the past two years, should hear that civil war was raging here, his first exclamation would be: "Then the Democratic party was defeated at the last Presidential election!" We believe that our success at this time will strengthen the Union men of the South. We believe that the dissolution of the Democratic party would discourage them. We mean, therefore, to emulate the example of our brethren in Pennsylvania, and strive to place in power not only a harmonious State administration, but one that will have the confidence of patriotic men in every section of our country.

We are willing to support this war as a means of restoring our Union, and because we regard it as a harsh but necessary remedy for the evils of the day. But we will not carry it on in a spirit of hatred, malice, or revenge. Whatever our views may be with respect to

slavery, we do not regard it as the cause of the controversy. We hold that the controversies of the day do not grow so much out of the institution of slavery as from the existence at the South of vast numbers of the African race. That the abolition of slavery would not end the contest, but that it would be the commencement of a lasting, destructive, terrible domestic conflict. We know that the people of the North would not consent that 4,000,000 of free negroes should live in their midst; that they would not agree to the abolition of slavery if those manumitted slaves were to be moved into the Northern States, and placed upon the vast unoccupied lands belonging to our Government. If we would not live with them under these circumstances, with what justice do we demand that the people of the South should be subjected to all the evils, and insecurity, and loss of constitutional right, involved in the immediate abolition of slavery?

We cannot, therefore, make this a war for the abolition of slavery. We will not permit it to be made a war upon the rights of the States. We shall strive to make the contest end in the re-establishment of our Government and the restoration of fraternal feeling among the people of this country. We shall see that it does not crush out the liberties of the citizen, or the reserved powers of the States. We shall hold that man to be as much a traitor who urges our government to overstep its constitutional powers, as he who resists the exercise of its rightful authority. We shall contend that the rights of the States and the General Government are equally sacred. Our motto is: "The Union, the Constitution, and the Laws. The Union upon equal terms, the whole Constitution, and all the Laws."

Public Meeting at Utica, N. Y., July 14, 1862, to aid Enlistments.

CALL FOR THE MEETING.

"The undersigned, citizens of Utica, invite their fellow-citizens to meet with them at the City Hall, on Monday evening, July 14, at 7½ o'clock, for the purpose of providing ways and means for the support of the Government in this new and pressing emergency. The exigencies of war call for more troops, for new efforts on the part of all patriots, or all that has been done for the preservation of the Union will go for naught. The only way out of our present difficulties is through victory. To that end the loyal States must put forth every energy, so that the struggle, which has become desperate, may be rendered short. Let us meet as patriots, and provide help for our gallant army, and support for the Government, to the end that the infamous rebellion which threatens our liberties may be suppressed, and the integrity and honor of the Union maintained.

"Signed by HORATIO SEYMOUR and several hundred others."

SPEECH OF MR. SEYMOUR.

The Call for 300,000 Troops—The Question simply how the Quota shall be filled—Volunteering preferable to a Draft—Dangers of Foreign Intervention—Help the Men in the Gap—The Speaker volunteers in case of Foreign Intervention.

At the meeting held in pursuance of the above call, Mr. Seymour spoke substantially as follows :

FELLOW-CITIZENS—The constituted authorities of our Government have declared the necessity that 300,000 soldiers should be added to our armies, in order to make up the deficiencies from the casualties of war, from sickness and disability. The authorities of New York are called upon to furnish their quota of this number, which is about 50,000 ; and the county of Oneida her share of the State's quota, which is about 1,500. This is the voice of authority, and every good citizen will make a fair and ready response to the call. We do not meet to determine whether we will or will not respond, or to say whether our quota shall be furnished or not ; it is to determine in what manner, and under what circumstances, they will go ; whether they are to go voluntarily, or be dragged from among us by conscription. We may differ in regard to the causes, and consequences of the war, but in this there should be and can be no difference ; men of all classes should come forward at once and exert themselves to the utmost to avert the alternative. When, therefore, the committee for this district was appointed by the Governor, and my name placed on the list, I was proud to accept, and together we should now exert ourselves to see how far we can mitigate the evils of the war. We are to meet this question fairly, and look it squarely in the face.

If Oneida county has not done her duty in recruiting, she should do it now. She has already done her duty in the battle-field, whether she has done it in recruiting or not. If possible, we should now secure volunteers, not conscripts. It may happen that the chance of the draft falls upon those who have already contributed to the armies of the land ; upon those who have fathers, brothers, sons, already in the field, or upon those who have large families dependent upon them for support, while those who have done comparatively nothing may escape. We must make arrangements so that those will go who can go with the least inconvenience. I do not know that there is a single member of this committee who is liable to do military duty, and they are not placed there to relieve themselves from it. Those who have been placed on the committee, if they do not fight harder than the rest, will have to pay more.

So much for the strictly legal aspects of the situation ; but there are other considerations which address themselves to us. Ours is a border State, and we must not lose sight of our liability to invasion in case of foreign intervention, which may be expected if the rebellion is not speedily brought to its death-bed. In that event, upon the frontiers of this State may fall the bloodiest part of the fight. He did not mean to be an alarmist, and would not indulge in needless speculation upon such probabilities ; but it did not become the dignity of the great State of New York that its freedom and peace should be

dependent upon the good faith and friendly feeling*of any foreign power. If such a war does come, we must not suffer it to be a war of invasion, but we must carry it into the territory of the aggressor.

So much, he said, for our interest; but there was something more imperative than that. We must step forward to the help of the men who went from our midst at the first call from their country. Amid all the excitement of the contest in which they are engaged, amid the roar of cannon and the carnage of battle, if a thought intervened, it was a thought of their homes in the beautiful Mohawk valley; and they have been cheered on by the thought that your sympathies were with them. Shall we be so recreant as to neglect them, now they call to us from the battle-field and from the hospitals for succor? and shall it be said that they looked to you in vain? And you must send them men who have voluntarily and proudly offered themselves; not those dragged to their assistance by the force of the law.

I appeal, therefore, to this meeting, and to all good citizens, to succor the efforts of this committee to fill up the regiments already in the field; and I appeal to them to raise the new regiment. It is now simply a question how we can best do our duty to the Government.

The speaker, alluding to the probability of foreign invasion, remarked that still another call for soldiers might be made, when, although he had not the warrior's strength, nor the soldier's skill, he should respond. His vow was registered in the military offices of the State, pledging him to such a course. We have no differences on this point,—that the present difficulties shall be settled by Americans themselves, without foreign interference. But such foreign interference was to be anticipated, and unless this new call for men is promptly answered, we may find ourselves helpless before the hereditary enemies of our country.

MR. SEYMOUR SUBSCRIBES TO THE FUND.

At this meeting it was resolved to raise by subscription a fund to pay additional bounty to the volunteers from Oneida county, which subscription Horatio Seymour headed with \$200.

Mr. Seymour at the Democratic State Convention, Albany, September 10, 1862, on receiving the Nomination of Governor.

Thanks for the Nomination—Refers to action of previous Convention—Refusal of the Republicans to make Compromise—Result of Republican Action—What he saw in the Army and at Washington—Present condition of the Country—Newspaper Extracts—Urges Party Organization—Demands bold and determined Issues—Shows why the Republicans cannot save the Country—On the Question of emancipating and arming Negroes—Taxation—Proposals for Democratic Action.

MR. PRESIDENT—Having uniformly and decidedly expressed my unwillingness to hold any official position at this time, I did not expect

my name would be brought before this Convention. The nomination you have made subjects me to great inconvenience, whatever may be the result of this election. I came to this Convention expecting to aid in placing at the head of the ticket the name of one whom I feel to be more fit than myself for that honorable position. But, sir, whatever may be the injury to myself, I cannot refuse a nomination made in a manner that touches my heart and fills me with a still stronger sense of my obligations to this great and patriotic party. In addition to my debt of gratitude to partial friends, I am impelled by the condition of our country to sacrifice my personal wishes and interests to its good.

Two years have not passed away since a convention, remarkable for its numbers, patriotism, and intelligence, assembled at this place to avert if possible the calamities which afflict our people. In respectful terms, it implored the leaders of the political party which had triumphed at a recent election to submit to the people of this country some measure of conciliation which would save them from civil war. It asked that before we should be involved in the evils and horrors of domestic bloodshed, those upon whom it would bring bankruptcy and ruin, and into whose homes it would carry desolation and death, should be allowed to speak. That prayer for the rights of our people was derided and denounced, and false assurances were given that there was no danger. The storm came upon us with all its fury—and the war so constantly and clearly foretold, desolated our land. It is said no compromises would have satisfied the South. If we had tried them it would not now be a matter of discordant opinion. If these offers had not satisfied the South, they would have gratified loyal men at the North, and would have united us more perfectly.

Animated by devotion to our Constitution and Union, our people rallied to the support of Government, and one year since showed an armed strength that astonished the world. We again appealed to those who wielded this mighty material power, to use it for the restoration of the Union and to uphold the Constitution, and were told that he who clamored for his constitutional rights was a traitor!

Congress assembled. Inexperienced in the conduct of public affairs, drunk with power, it began its course of agitation, outrage, and wrong. The defeat of our arms at Manassas, for a time filled it with terror. Under this influence it adopted the resolution of Mr. Crittenden, declaring,

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the Disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the constitutional Government, and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged, on their part, in any spirit of oppression or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the *supremacy* of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

Again the people rallied around the flag of the Union. But no sooner were their fears allayed than they began anew the factious intrigues, the violent discussions, and the unconstitutional legislation which ever brings defeat and disgrace upon nations. In vain were

they warned of the consequences of their follies. In vain did the President implore forbearance and moderation. No act was omitted which would give energy to the Secessionists, or which would humiliate and mortify the loyal men of the South. Every topic calculated to divide and distract the North was dragged into embittered debates. Proclamations of emancipation were urged upon the President, which could only confiscate the property of loyal citizens at the South; for none others could be reached by the power of the Government. The confiscation act had already forfeited the legal rights of all who were engaged in or who aided and upheld the rebellion. These were excited to desperate energy by laws which made their lives, their fortunes, the safety of their families and homes, depend upon the success of their schemes. From the dragon's teeth, sown broadcast by Congress, have sprung the armies which have driven back our forces, and which now beleaguer the capital of our country. The acts of the national Legislature have given pleasure to the Abolitionists, victories to the Secessionists. But while treason rejoices and triumphs, defeat and disgrace have been brought upon the flag of our country and the defenders of our Constitution. Every man who visited Washington six months ago could see and feel we were upon the verge of disaster. Discord, jealousy, envy, and strife pervaded its atmosphere.

I went to the camp of our soldiers. Amid the hardships of an exhausting campaign—amid sufferings from exposure and want—amid those languishing upon beds of sickness, or those struck down by the casualties of war, I heard and saw only devotion to our Constitution, and love for our country's flag. Each eye brightened as it looked upon the national standard, with its glorious emblazonry of stars and stripes. From this scene of patriotic devotion I went into our national Capitol. I traversed its mosaic pavements; I gazed upon its walls of polished marble; I saw upon its ceilings all that wealth, lavishly poured out, could do to make them suggestive of our country's greatness, and its wonderful wealth of varied productions. Art had exhausted itself in painting and sculpture to make every aspect suggestive of high and noble thought and purpose. Full of the associations which cluster about this vast temple, which should be dedicated to patriotism and truth, I entered its legislative halls; their gilded walls and gorgeous furniture did not contrast more strongly with the rude scenes of martial life, than did the glistening putrescence and thin lacquer of congressional virtue contrast with the sterling loyalty and noble self-sacrifice of our country's defenders. I listened to debates full of bitterness and strife.

I saw in the camp a heartfelt homage to our national flag—a stern defiance of those who dared to touch its sacred folds with hostile hands. I heard in the Capitol threats of mutilation of its emblazonry, by striking down the life of States. He who would rend our national standard by dividing our Union is a traitor. He who would put out one glittering star from its azure field, is a traitor too.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF OUR COUNTRY.

Let us now confront the facts of our condition, and they shall be stated in the language of those who brought this Administration into

power, and who now are politically opposed to the members of this Convention. After the expenditure of nearly one thousand millions of dollars, and the sacrifice of more than one hundred thousand Northern lives, in the language of the *Evening Post*—

"What has been the result? Our armies of the West, the noble victors of Fort Donelson and Shiloh, are scattered so that no man knows their whereabouts, while the foe they were sent to disperse is a hundred miles in their rear, threatening the cities of Tennessee and Kentucky, and even advancing towards one of the principal commercial cities of the free States. There is no leadership, no unity of command, apparently no plan or concert of action, in the entire region we have undertaken to hold and defend. At the same time, our army of the East, numbering 250,000 troops, fully armed and equipped, and admirably disciplined, after investing the capital of the enemy, has been driven back to its original position on the Potomac, decimated in numbers and unprepared to make a single vigorous movement in advance."

And it adds:

"Now it is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that this is a failure, disgraceful, humiliating, and awful."

The *Evening Journal*, the accredited organ of the Secretary of State, now admits the truths uttered in this hall when we assembled here in February, 1861; truths then derided and denounced as absurd and treasonable. It says:

"The war has been a stern schoolmaster to the people of the loyal States. We have learned the folly of underrating our enemies. We have learned that they are equally brave, equally hardy, equally quick-witted, equally endowed with martial qualities with ourselves. We have learned they are terribly earnest in their efforts to achieve their ends."

The New York *Tribune* declares that

"The country is in peril. Viewed from the stand-point of the public estimate of 'the situation,' it is in extreme peril. The rebels seem to be pushing forward their forces all along the border line from the Atlantic to the Missouri. They are threatening the Potomac and the Ohio. They are striking at Washington, Cincinnati, and Louisville. This simultaneous movement is both alarming and encouraging. It is alarming, because through the timidity, despondency, or folly of the Federal Government, it may become temporarily successful, giving to the foe a lodgment in some portion of the free States which may require weeks to break up."

But it is admitted by those who were opposed to us, that debt and defeat are not the heaviest calamities which weigh us down. A virtuous people and a pure government can bear up against any amount of outward pressure or physical calamity; but when rottenness and corruption pervade the legislative hall or executive department, the heart of the patriot faints and his arm withers. The organ of the Secretary of State admits:

"There have been mistakes. There have been speculations. Weak men have disgraced, and bad men have betrayed the Government. Contractors have fattened on fat jobs. Adventurers have found the war a source of private gain. Moral desperadoes have flocked about the national capital and lain in wait for prey. The scum of the land has gathered about the sources of power, and defiled them by its reek and offensive odor. There has been mismanagement in the departments; mismanagement wherever great labor has been performed and great responsibility devolved. Men—even Presidents and Cabinet officers and commanding Generals—have erred, because they could not grasp the full significance of the drama, and because they were compelled to strike out on untrodden paths."—*Eve. Journal*.

Hear the voice of a leading Republican orator:

"I declare it on my responsibility as a Senator of the United States," said John P.

Hale, "that the liberties of this country are in greater danger to-day from the corruptions and from the profligacy practised in the various departments of the Government than they are from the open enemy in the field."

The New York *World* exclaims in an agony of remorse :

"It is with dismay and unspeakable shame that we, who have supported the Administration from the beginning, observe its abuse of its power of arrest. There is no such thing as justifying or extenuating its conduct in this particular. Every principle of American liberty, every regard for the loyal cause, every sentiment of justice, every impulse of manhood, cries out against it. The man who thinks at all is absolutely staggered that these things can be. They seem like some hideous dream. One can almost fancy that Mephistophiles himself had got access into the councils of the Government, and by some device, fresh from the pit, had diverted its energies from the repression of rebellion to the suppression of liberty."

The New York *Times* demands a change in the Administration, and in the conduct of affairs.

I have thus carefully set forth the declarations and named the witnesses to this awful indictment against our rulers, for we mean to proceed with all the care and candor, and all the solemnity of a judicial tribunal.

It is with a sorrowful heart I point to these dark pictures, not drawn by journals of the Democratic party. God knows that as a member of that patriotic organization, as an American citizen, I would gladly efface them if I could. But, alas! they are grounded upon truths that cannot be gainsaid. Once more, then, our Republican fellow-citizens, in this day of our common humiliation and disgrace, we implore you as respectfully as in the hour of your political triumph, listen to our suggestions. We do not come with reproaches, but with entreaties. Follow the pathways marked out by the Constitution and we shall be extricated from our perilous position. On the other hand, if you will still be governed by those who brought us into our present condition, you will learn too late that there are yet deeper depths of degradation before us, and greater miseries to be borne than those which now oppress us. Nay more, the President of the United States appeals to us all, in his communication with the loyal men of the border States, when he says he is pressed to violate his duty, his oath of office, and the Constitution of the land—pressed by cowardly and heartless men, living far away from the scenes of war, fattening upon the wealth coined from the blood and misery of the land, and living in those localities where official investigations show that this people and Government have been robbed by fraudulent contracts. Such men demand that those who have suffered most in this contest, who have shown the highest and purest patriotism under the terrible trials of divided families, of desolated homes, of ruined fortunes and of blood-stained fields, should have a new and further evil inflicted upon them by the hands of a Government they are struggling to uphold. By the help of God and the people we will relieve the President from that pressure.

NECESSITY FOR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

An attempt is made to close the ears of our Republican friends to our appeals, because we act as a political organization. Can we do

otherwise? Would not the dispersion of this ancient party, identified as it is with the growth, greatness and glory of our land, be looked upon as a calamity, even by our opponents? Did not a shadow fall upon our country when it was torn apart at Charleston; and do not men of all parties point to its disruption as one of the causes of this unnatural war? Is it not just we should have a representation in the State and National Government proportioned to our contributions to our armies and the treasury? If we elect all of our ticket at this time, we shall have no more than our proportional share of political power. It may be said we should meet without regard to political organizations, and nominate officers. This destroys the object of such organizations. They would cease to be protections against abuses of power or the inroads of corruption. Let the two great parties be honest and honorable enough to meet in fair and open discussion with well-defined principles and politics. Then each will serve our country as well out of power as in power. The vigilance kept alive by party contest guards against corruption or oppression. This watchfulness is most needed when unusual expenditures of money present unusual temptations to the corrupt and selfish.

For another reason we cannot disband our organization. The Union men of the Border and more Southern States, without distinction of party, implore us not to do so. They tell us a triumph of our party now would be worth more than victories upon the battle-field. It would reassure their friends, it would weaken their opponents. Every advantage gained over abolitionism puts down the rebellion. While they and we know there are many just and patriotic men in the Republican party, it is still true that its success gives power and influence to the violent and fanatical, and that their party action always goes beyond their party platform.

Every fair man admits there is no way of correcting abuses but by a change of political leaders. The Republican party demanded this when they charged abuses upon Democratic administration. They should concede the principle now.

Experience shows that frauds practised by political friends are not punished by men in power. It is conceded that gross frauds have been committed in different departments of Government; that they have brought distress upon our soldiers, defeat upon our arms, and disgrace upon our people. But not one man has been punished, or made to feel the power of that prerogative which is claimed to be an incident of war. Corruption, that has done more to destroy the National power than armed rebellion, has gone unscathed. The sentinel who slept upon his post has been sentenced to death—the official who closed his eyes to frauds which destroyed armies, is quietly removed, by and with the advice of the Senate, and represents the Nation's character at the capital of a friendly power! Citizens in loyal States who became the objects of suspicion or of malignant assaults, have been seized at their homes, dragged to distant prisons without trial and without redress, while each convicted plunderer walks freely and boldly among the people he has robbed and wronged. Maladministration demands change of administration.

At this time issues should be fairly and boldly made. It is no dishonor to be mistaken, but it is disgraceful not to be outspoken. Let this war at least settle questions of principle. A few months will de-

cide who is right and who is wrong now, as the past two years have shown who were right and who were wrong heretofore. We are in favor of the rights of the State, as well as of the General Government; we are in favor of local self-government, as well as of the national jurisdiction within its proper sphere.

While we thus meet as a political organization it is not for partisan purposes. We can best serve our country in this relationship. The President of the United States will bear witness that he has not been pressed or embarrassed by us. We have loyally responded to every call made on us by constituted authority. We have obeyed all orders to re-enforce our armies. When we were in power we denounced the higher-law doctrine—the principle that men might set up their wills against the statutes of the land—as treasonable. We denounced it when uttered by Northern men; we are combating it when it is asserted by the rebellious South. We repudiate it by submitting to every demand of our Government made within the limits of rightful jurisdiction. This obedience has not been constrained, but cheerfully rendered, even in support of a party and policy to which we are opposed. We have struggled to sustain not only the letter but the spirit of our laws. We feel that we have set an example of loyalty that will not be lost upon those opposed to us. Having done our duty, we now demand our rights, and we shall at this time sit in calm and fearless judgment upon the conduct of our rulers. Ours shall not be the language of discord and violence. We deplore the passionate and vindictive assaults of leading Republican journals upon those holding civil or military stations. Above all, we protest, in behalf of our country's honor and dignity, against their insubordinate and disrespectful language toward the President of these United States. Such language wrecks the authority of Government, and tends to anarchy and public disorder.

For another reason, we cannot disband our organization. No other party can save this country. It alone has clearly-defined purposes and well-settled principles. It has been well said in our Congressional Address, that under its guidance,

"From five millions, the population increased to thirty millions. The Revolutionary debt was extinguished. Two foreign wars were successfully prosecuted, with a moderate outlay and small army and navy, and without one suspension of the habeas corpus; without one infraction of the Constitution; without one usurpation of power; without suppressing a single newspaper; without imprisoning a single editor; without limit to the freedom of the press, or of speech, in or out of Congress, but in the midst of the grossest abuse of both, and without the arrest of a single 'traitor,' though the Hartford Convention sat during one of the wars, and in the other senators invited the enemy to 'Greet our volunteers with bloody hands and welcome them to hospitable graves!'

"During all this time wealth increased, business of all kinds multiplied, prosperity smiled on every side, taxes were low, wages were high, the North and the South furnished a market for each other's products at good prices, public liberty was secure, private rights undisturbed; every man's house was his castle; the courts were open to all; no passports for travel, no secret police, no spies, no informers, no hostiles; the right to assemble peaceably, the right to petition; freedom of religion, freedom of speech, a free ballot, and a free press; and all this time the Constitution maintained and the Union of the States preserved."

WHY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CANNOT SAVE THE COUNTRY.

On the other hand, the very character of the Republican organization makes it incapable of conducting the affairs of the Government. For a series of years, it has practised a system of coalitions with men differing in principle, until it can have no distinctive policy. In such chaotic masses, the violent have most control. They have been educating their followers for years, through the press, not to obey laws which did not accord with their views. How can they demand submission from whole communities, while they contend that individuals may oppose laws opposed to their consciences? They are higher law men. They insist that the contest in which we are engaged is an irrepressible one, and that therefore the South could not avoid it, unless they were willing at the outset to surrender all that Abolitionists demanded. To declare that this contest is irrepressible, declares that our fathers formed a Government which could not stand. Are such men the proper guardians of this Government? Have not their speeches and acts given strength to the rebellion, and have they not also enabled its leaders to prove to their deluded followers that the contest was an irrepressible one?

But their leaders have not only asserted that this contest was irrepressible, unless the South would give up what extreme Republicans demand (their local institutions), but those in power have done much to justify this rebellion in the eyes of the world. The guilt of rebellion is determined by the character of the government against which it is arrayed. The right of revolution, in the language of President Lincoln, is a sacred right when exerted against a bad government.

We charge that this rebellion is most wicked because it is against the best government that ever existed. It is the excellence of our Government that makes resistance a crime. Rebellion is not necessarily wrong. It may be an act of the highest virtue—it may be one of the deepest depravity. The rebellion of our fathers is our proudest boast—the rebellion of our brothers is the humiliation of our nation—is our national disgrace. To resist a bad government is patriotism—to resist a good one is the greatest guilt. The first is patriotism, the last is treason. Legal tribunals can only regard resistance of laws as a crime, but in the forum of public sentiment the character of the government will decide if the act is treason or patriotism.

Our Government and its administration are different things; but in the eyes of the civilized world, abuses, weakness, or folly in the conduct of affairs go far to justify resistance. I have read to you the testimony of Messrs. Greeley, Weed, Bryant, Raymond, and Marble, charging fraud, corruption, outrage, and incompetency upon those in power. Those who stand up to testify to the incompetency of these representatives of a discordant party to conduct the affairs of our Government are politically opposed to us. Bear in mind that the embarrassments of President Lincoln grow out of the conflicting views of his political friends, and their habits and principles of insubordination. His hands would be strengthened by a democratic victory, and if his private prayers are answered we will relieve him from the pressure of philanthropists who thirst for blood, and who call for the extermination of the men, women, and children of the South. The

brutal and bloody language of partisan editors and political preachers have lost us the sympathy of the civilized world in a contest where all mankind should be upon our side.

Turning to the legislative departments of our Government, what do we see? In the history of the decline and fall of nations, there are no more striking displays of madness and folly. The assemblage of Congress throws gloom over the nation; its continuance in session is more disastrous than defeat upon the battle-field. It excites alike alarm and disgust.

The public are disappointed in the results of the war. This is owing to the differing objects of the people on the one hand, and of the fanatical agitators in and out of Congress on the other. In the army, the Union men of the North and South battle side by side, under one flag, to put down rebellion and uphold the Union and Constitution. In Congress a fanatical majority make war on the Union men of the South and strengthen the hands of Secessionists by words and acts which enable them to keep alive the flames of civil war. What is done on the battle-field by the blood and treasure of the people, is undone by senators. Half of the time is spent in factious measures designed to destroy all confidence in the Government at the South, and the rest in annoying our army, in meddling with its operations, embarrassing our generals, and in publishing undigested and unfounded scandal. One party is seeking to bring about peace, the other to keep alive hatred and bitterness by interferences. They prove the wisdom of Solomon, when he said: "It is an honor to a man to cease from strife, but every fool will be meddling."

This war cannot be brought to a successful conclusion, or our country restored to an honorable peace, under the Republican leaders, for another reason. Our disasters are mainly due to the fact that they have not dared to tell the truth to the community. A system of misrepresentation had been practised so long and so successfully that when the war burst upon us they feared to let the people know its full proportions, and they persisted in assuring their friends it was but a passing excitement. They still asserted that the South was unable to maintain and carry on a war. They denounced as a traitor every man who tried to tell the truth and to warn our people of the magnitude of the contest.

Now, my Republican friends, you know that the misapprehensions of the North with regard to the South have drenched the land with blood. Was this ignorance accidental? I appeal to you, Republicans, if for years past, through the press and in publications which have been urged upon your attention by the leaders of your party, you have not been taught to despise the power and resources of the South? I appeal to you to say if this teaching has not been a part of the machinery by which power has been gained? I appeal to you to answer if those who tried to teach truths now admitted have not been denounced? I appeal to you if a book, beyond all others false, bloody, and treasonable, was not sent out with the indorsement of all your managers; and is it not true that now, when men blush to own they believed its statements, its author is honored by an official station? It is now freely confessed by you all, that you have been deceived with respect to the South. Who deceived you? Who, by false teachings, instilled contempt and hate into the minds of our people?

Who stained our land with blood? Who caused ruin and distress? All these things are within your own knowledge. Are their authors the leaders to rescue us from our calamities? They shrink back appalled from the mischief they have wrought, and tell you it is an irrepressible contest. That reason is as good for Jefferson Davis as for them. They attempt to drown reflections by new excitements and new appeals to our passions. Having already, in legislation, gone far beyond the limits at which, by their resolutions, they were pledged to stop, they now ask to adopt measures which they have heretofore denounced as unjust and unconstitutional. For this reason they cannot save our country.

As our national calamities thicken upon us, an attempt is made by their authors to avoid their responsibilities by insisting that our failures are due to the fact that their measures are not carried out, although Government has already gone far beyond its pledges. The demands of these men will never cease, simply because they hope to save themselves from condemnation by having unsatisfied demands. At the last session Congress not only abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, but, to quiet clamorous men, an act of confiscation and emancipation was passed, which, in the opinion of leading Republicans, was unconstitutional and unjust. By this act the rebels have no property—not even their own lives—and they own no slaves. But, to the astonishment and disgust of those who believe in the policy of statutes and proclamations, these rebels still live, and fight, and hold their slaves. These measures seem to have reanimated them. They have a careless and reckless way of appropriating their lives and property, which by act of Congress belong to us, in support of their cause.

But these fanatical men have learned that it is necessary to win a victory before they divide the spoil—and what do they now propose? As they cannot take the property of rebels beyond their reach, they will take the property of the loyal men of the border States. The violent men of this party, as you know from experience, my conservative Republican friend, in the end have their way. They now demand that the President shall issue a proclamation of immediate and universal emancipation! Against whom is this to be directed? Not against those in rebellion, for they come within the scope of the act of Congress. It can only be applied to those who have been true to our Union and our flag. They are to be punished for their loyalty. When we consider their sufferings and their cruel wrongs at the hands of the Secessionists, their reliance upon our faith, is not this proposal black with ingratitude?

The scheme for an immediate emancipation and general arming of the slaves throughout the South is a proposal for the butchery of women and children, for scenes of lust and rapine, of arson and murder, unparalleled in the history of the world. The horrors of the French Revolution would become tame in comparison. Its effect would not be confined to the walls of cities, but there would be a wide-spread scene of horror over the vast expanse of great States, involving alike the loyal and seditious. Such malignity and cowardice would invoke the interference of civilized Europe. History tells us of the fires kindled in the name of religion, of atrocities committed under pretexts of order or liberty; but it is now urged that scenes

bloodier than the world has yet seen shall be enacted in the name of philanthropy!

A proclamation of general and armed emancipation at this time, would be a cruel wrong to the African. It is now officially declared in Presidential addresses, which are fortified by Congressional action, that the negro cannot live in the enjoyment of the full privileges of life among the white race. It is now admitted, after our loss of infinite blood and treasure, that the great problem we have to settle is not slavery, but the negro question. A terrible question, not springing from statutes or usages, but growing out of the unchangeable distinctions of race. It is discovered at this late day, in republican Illinois, that it is right to drive him from its soil. It is discovered by a republican Congress, after convulsing our country with declarations in favor of his equal rights, and asserting that he was merely the victim of unjust laws, that he should be sent away from our land. The issue is now changed. The South holds that the African is fit to live here as a slave. Our republican Government denies that he is fit to live here at all.

The Republican party cannot save the country, because through its powerful press it teaches contempt for the laws, Constitution, and constituted authorities. They are not only destroying the Union, but they are shaking and weakening the whole structures of State as well as of the National Government, by denunciations of every law and of all authority that stand in the way of their passions or their purposes. They have not only carried discord into our churches and legislative halls, but into our armies. Every general who agrees with them upon the subject of slavery is upheld in every act of insubordination, and sustained against the clearest proofs of incompetence, if not of corruption. On the other hand, every commander who differs from their views upon the single point of slavery, is denounced not only for incompetency, but constantly depreciated in every act. No man is allowed to be a Christian; no man is regarded as a statesman; no man is suffered unmolested to do his duty as a soldier, unless he supports measures which no one dared to urge eighteen months since. They insist that martial law is superior to constitutional law, that the wills of generals in the field are above all restraints; but they demand for themselves the right to direct and control these generals. They claim an influence higher than they will allow to the laws of the land. Are these displays of insubordination and violence safe at this time?

The weight of annual taxation will test severely the loyalty of the people of the North. Repudiation of our financial obligations would cause disorder and endless moral evils. Pecuniary rights will never be held more sacred than personal rights. Repudiation of the Constitution involves repudiation of National debts, of its guarantees of rights of property, of person, and of conscience. The moment we show the world that we do not hold the Constitution to be a sacred compact, we not only destroy all sense of security, but we turn away from our shores the vast tide of foreign immigration. It comes here now not because there are not other skies as bright and other lands as productive as ours. It seeks here security for freedom—for rights of conscience—for immunity from tyrannical interferences, and from meddling impertinence. The home

and fireside rights heretofore enjoyed by the American people—enjoyed under protection of a written Constitution, have made us great and prosperous. I entreat you again, touch them not with sacrilegious hands! We are threatened with the breaking up of our social system, with the overthrow of State and National Governments. If we begin a war upon the compromises of the Constitution, we must go through with it. It contains many restraints upon our natural rights. It may be asked, by what right do the six small New England States, with a population less than that of New York, have six times its power in the Senate, which has become the controlling branch of Government? By what natural right do these States, with their small united populations and limited territories, balance the power of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan? The vast debt growing out of this war will give rise to new and angry discussions. It will be held almost exclusively in a few Atlantic States. Look upon the map of the Union and see how small is the territory in which it will be owned. We are to be divided into creditor and debtor States, and the last will have a vast preponderance of power and strength. Unfortunately there is no taxation upon this national debt, and its share is thrown off upon other property. It is held where many of the Government contracts have been executed, and where in some instances gross frauds have been practised. It is held largely where the Constitution gives a disproportionate share of political power. With all these elements of discord, is it wise to assail constitutional law, or bring authority into contempt? Is it safe to encourage the formation of irresponsible committees, made up of impertinent men, who thrust themselves into the conduct of public affairs, and try to dictate to legal rulers? Or will you tolerate the enrolment of armies which are not constituted or organized by proper authorities? Are such things just toward those who have placed their fortunes in the hands of the Government at this crisis?

We implore you, do not be deceived again with this syren song of no danger. There is danger, great and imminent, of the destruction of all government, of safety for life and property, unless the duty of obedience to law, and respect for authorities, and the honest support of those in the public service, both military and civil, are taught and enforced, by all means within our control.

With us there is no excuse for revolutionary action. Our system of government gives peaceful remedies for all evils in legislation.

WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PROPOSE TO DO.

MR. PRESIDENT:—It will be asked, what do we propose to do? We mean, with all our powers of mind and person, to support the Constitution and uphold the Union; to maintain the laws, to preserve the public faith. We insist upon obedience to laws and respect for constitutional authority; we will defend the rights of citizens; we mean that rulers and subjects shall respect the laws; we will put down all revolutionary committees; we will resist all unauthorized organizations of armed men; we will spurn officious meddlers who are impudently pushing themselves into the councils of our Government. Politically opposed to those in authority, we demand they shall be treated with the respect due to their positions as the

representatives of the dignity and honor of the American people. We do not try to save our country by abandoning its Government. In these times of trial and danger we cling more closely to the great principles of civil and religious liberty and of personal right; we will man the defences and barriers which the Constitution throws around them; we will revive the courage and strengthen the arms of loyal men by showing them they have a living Government about which to rally; we will proclaim amidst the confusion and uproar of civil war, with louder tones and firmer voices, the great maxims and principles of civil liberty, order, and obedience. What has perpetuated the greatness of that nation from which we derive so many of our maxims? Not its victories upon land nor its triumphs upon the seas, but its firm adherence to its traditional policy. The words of Coke, of Camden, and Mansfield, have for long periods of time given strength and vitality and honor to its social system, while battles have lost their significance. When England was agitated by the throes of violence—when the person of the king was insulted; when parliament was besieged by mobs maddened by bigotry; when the life of Lord Mansfield was sought by infuriated fanatics, and his house was burned by incendiary fires, then he uttered those words which checked at once unlawful power and lawless violence. He declared that every citizen was entitled to his rights according to the known procedures of the land. He showed to the world the calm and awful majesty of the law, unshaken amidst convulsions. Self-reliant in its strength and purity, it was driven to no acts which destroy the spirit of law. Violence was rebuked, the heart of the nation was reassured, a sense of security grew up, and the storm was stilled. Listen to his words:

“Miserable is the condition of individuals; dangerous is the condition of the state where there is no certain law, or what is the same thing, no certain administration of law, by which individuals may be protected and the state made secure.”

Thus, too, will we stand calmly up amidst present disasters. We have warned the public that every act of disobedience weakened their claims to protection. We have admonished our rulers that every violation of right destroyed sentiments of loyalty and duty. That obedience and protection were reciprocal obligations. He who withholds his earnest and cheerful support to any legal demand of his government, invites oppression and usurpation on the part of those in authority. The public servant who oversteps his jurisdiction, or tramples upon the rights, person, property or procedure of the governed, instigates resistance and revolt.

Under abuse and detraction we have faithfully acted upon these precepts. If our purposes were factious, the elements of disorder are everywhere within our reach. If we were as disobedient to this Government and as denunciatory of its officials as those who placed them in power, we could make them tremble in their seats of power. We have been obedient, loyal, and patient. We shall continue to be so under all circumstances. But let no man mistake this devotion to our country and its Constitution for unworthy fear. We have no greater stake in good order than other men. Our arms are as strong, our endurance as great, our fortitude as unwavering as that of our political opponents. But we seek the blessings of peace, of law, of

order. We ask the public to mark our policy and our position. Opposed to the election of Mr. Lincoln, we have loyally sustained him. Differing from the Administration as to the course and the conduct of the war, we have cheerfully responded to every demand made upon us. To-day we are putting forth our utmost efforts to re-enforce our armies in the field. Without conditions or threats we are exerting our energies to strengthen the hands of Government, and to replace it in the commanding position it held in the eyes of the world before recent disasters. We are pouring out our blood, our treasures, and our men, to rescue it from a position in which it can neither propose peace nor conduct successful war. And this support is freely and generously accorded. We wish to see our Union saved, our laws vindicated, and peace once more restored to our land. We do not claim more virtue or intelligence than we award to our opponents, but we now have the sad and bloody proof that we act upon sounder principles of government. Animated by the motto we have placed upon our banner—"The Union, the Constitution, and the Laws"—we go into the political contest confident of the support of a people who cannot be deaf or blind to the teachings of the last two years.

Mr. Seymour at the Democratic Ratification Meeting, Cooper Institute, New York, October 13, 1862.

Republican Attacks considered—Party Epithets illustrated—The Speaker's War Record—The Record of Republican Leaders—Mr. Seymour and Mr. Tremaine—Daniel S. Dickinson—Efforts to suppress Free Speech—The Objects of the Republicans—Democratic Purposes—Justice to Officials—Radicalism against Conservatism—Tendency of Radical Policy—The Committee on the Conduct of the War—Tendency to Violence and Disorder—Drifting toward Revolution—Our Home Duties—The Democratic Position.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—At this day of our country's calamities, when war is carrying mourning into the homes of all classes of citizens—when its burdens and its sacrifices fall upon all alike, without regard to differences of opinion or creeds—we look for earnest, thoughtful, but temperate discussions of the great questions which are forced upon our consideration. But we find the solemnity of the public mind is disturbed by bitter denunciations and epithets. Men who have given their sons to the service of their country, and many who mourn over the loss of those closely bound to them by the ties of nature, are denounced as traitors. There are men now languishing with wounds received upon the battle-field, who come within the terms of this abuse. It is natural that those who, under such circumstances, go forth from stricken homes, as well as those who have largely aided, by their exertions and contributions, to uphold their country's flag, should feel tempted to punish those who brand them with disloyalty.

But let me, with respect to these attacks, call your attention to some facts which should make us calm and temperate, as well as firm and resolved, in these discussions. In the first place, a majority of

those opposed to us are mortified with these exhibitions of rudeness and petulance, and feel the ridicule which it brings upon their organization. Here is one of their outbursts:—

“Resolved: That every vote given for James S. Wadsworth, is a vote for loyalty, and every vote given for Horatio Seymour, is a vote for treason.”

Before you make haste to get this honorary degree of patriotism, let us see what prompts these railing accusations. You must bear in mind they come from men who lie upon uneasy beds; from those who mocked when we warned them of impending calamities; from those who stigmatized us as sympathizers with treason, when we implored them not to underrate the power with which we were combating. They quail when the fearful and bloody consequences of their mistakes rise up before them, but they lack the courage and manhood to confess their errors. In petulant terms they denounce us, not because they are dissatisfied with us, but because they are dissatisfied with themselves. They burst into railing simply because our presence recalls the past, and stirs up unpleasant memories of their falsified predictions, and of their calamitous ignorance. The flush upon their cheeks is not that of indignation, it is the blush of shame. The harsh epithet is the mode in which weak and disingenuous minds express their discomfiture. We, who, amidst the calamities of the day, can look calmly back upon our past policy, must make large allowance for those who cannot.

Before we suffer ourselves to be irritated by the epithet “traitor,” we must see what these truculent men mean by the term. In showing this, I will avail myself of an illustration which enables me to speak of the radical candidate for the office of Lieutenant Governor, — a gentleman who stands second upon that ticket, but is made foremost in this canvass. As he has devoted himself to attacks upon me, it might seem discourteous if I did not allude to him. They say that he is a patriot, and that I am a traitor. Why? Less than two years since, we were members of a convention called to avert, if possible, the calamities of civil war. At its opening I urged the duty of submitting to the people a plan of conciliation. Earnestly, imploringly, but respectfully, I entreated those who had triumphed at the late election, to save our country and spare its blood. I did not justify nor palliate rebellion, as I have ever opposed the doctrine of a higher law which teaches that we may resist law or oppose authority, provided our opinion, or passion, or prejudice inclines us to do so. I stated my purpose to yield to the mandate of those who had a right to decide, in these words:—

“To do this we must have unity of action; all must agree to submit to some tribunal. The present difficulties have sprung into existence since the last popular election; they have taken the whole community by surprise, and conflicting views are held with regard to the proper time of action. To secure this union of purpose, for one, I am in favor of making an appeal to the Republicans and to the Legislature of this State, to submit the proposition of Senator Crittenden to the vote of the people of New York; if it is approved, then we will exert ourselves to secure an adjustment upon that basis; if on the other hand it is rejected, then we shall know that the people of this State are opposed to the policy of compromise and conciliation.”

Upon the following day Mr. Tremaine addressed the convention in terms of bitter reproach against the Republican party, and said:

“But, gentlemen, while I do not justify secession in the abstract, we must not for-

get that the South has had the most terrible provocation to which civilized man has ever been subjected."

Again:

"I would like this convention to take up those and other measures tending toward conciliation and peace, and wish to say that, traitorous though it may be, I stand here to oppose the policy of war with the South, now, hereafter, and forever."

I aver that I sought in my speech to induce a triumphant majority to act with moderation and magnanimity, and to avert this war. I charge that the speech of Mr. Tremaine was calculated to encourage the Secessionists of the South to go on with their rebellion. It is said my speech was traitorous. I challenge the Republicans to publish it in full. If the charge is not false, they can convict me of treasonable purposes. I dare them to publish the speech of Mr. Tremaine. I ask that both may be laid before this people, and let them decide between us. We seek an inquiry. But let me go on in my explanation of these terms—"traitor" and "patriot." When the war began by an attack made at Sumter, and the President called forth the armed strength of the country, I was at the capital of a western State. The Legislature was in session, and many of its members, who, with myself, had opposed the election of Mr. Lincoln, and deplored the rejection of any measures which would allow the people to speak before their homes should be made desolate, and their blood poured forth in an unnatural conflict, consulted with me as to the course of duty. We all agreed there was but one pathway to follow; upon its guide-posts were written "obedience to laws;" "respect for authorities;" "The Union and the Constitution." We felt that a prompt and cheerful response must be made to legal demands of State and National authorities, whether they were agreeable to us or not. In this spirit they acted, and high Republican officials expressed their obligations to me; yet I claim no merits. Those friends who did me the honor to consult with me would have acted as they did if we had never met, for we all had been taught the duty of loyalty in the same great and common school of Democracy. I was gratified that, while I was in a remote part of the great West, it was in my power to promote the formation of a company of as bold and as sturdy men as ever rallied in defence of our country's flag. I recall with pride their array when, drawn up before my lodging, they expressed through their commander, their good-will toward myself, and their obligations for such assistance as I had been able to give them.

But the guns which struck down the nation's flag at Sumter, and rang through the legislative halls of the West, also thundered at the capital of our State. The Governor of New York called for grants of money. I charge that Mr. Tremaine, who rejoices in the honorary degree of "patriot," conferred by a partisan assemblage, labored earnestly, and into the deep hours of night, to persuade members to vote against the aid thus called for by the constitutional authorities.

When I returned to my home in the autumn of 1861, I found that the president of the last Republican State Convention was speaking in terms of contempt and reproach of Mr. Lincoln, whom he had aided to place in power. Nay, more, he threatened a violent overthrow of this Administration. Seditious language was not confined to his journal. The tone of the Republican press was in the highest degree disrespectful toward the National authorities. I made an address to

my townsmen, which was extensively republished throughout the State, in which I gave my views of the duties of citizens toward our Government in the conduct of this war. I did not then labor under any supposed personal anxiety with respect to the results of an election in its effects upon myself. I rebuked the spirit of insubordination in these words:

"First, and above all, we are to show obedience to the constituted authorities, and devotion and respect for legal and constitutional obligations. We are admonished by Washington 'that respect for the authority of government, compliance with its laws, and acquiescence with its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.' The very idea of the power and rights of the people to establish governments, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government. The primal sin of disobedience is not only the immediate cause of this war, but its spirit has also sapped and weakened the foundations of our Municipal, State, and National authority throughout every part of our land. It is the great, underlying cause of all our calamities. The spirit of disobedience permeates our social system; it renders law powerless, and strips men of their rights, and of due protection to their persons and property. Obedience is the basis of all family, political, and religious organizations. It is the principle of cohesion that holds society together, without which it crumbles into atoms."

I stated my views with regard to the support of the war as follows:

"We owe other duties to our Government. We must strengthen its armies, and furnish it with means to conduct this war to a successful issue. The day has gone by for efforts to avert it. When the American people refused to live together in the spirit of the Constitution, when they rejected all adjustment of controversies, they made the sword the only arbiter. Consistency demands that we who strove to avert the war should now strive to make it productive of those ends which we sought to reach by peaceful measures. All theories of government—that of centralization or that of State rights—require that we should stand by the standards of our Government and the standards of our State in the battle-field."

I challenge the Republican journals to publish that speech made one year since—not garbled extracts, not detached sentences, which may be perverted, but as a whole. It will occupy but a little of that space which is now given to indiscriminate abuse and obloquy. And here let me say that, in this contest we are trying to lay our records before the people, that we may be judged, not alone by language used amid the excitement of this contest, but by our warnings, our entreaties, our arguments during the past three years. On the other hand, not only Mr. Tremaine, but those who were with him, are denouncing us as traitors, and trying to hide away from the public eye their utterances and their predictions.

At the last session of our Legislature I delivered an address at the capital with respect to our State and national defences. At its conclusion the Governor did me the honor to introduce a resolution thanking me for its sentiments, which he declared to be patriotic and valuable.

In the progress of the war our army before Richmond was sacrificed by meddling and intrigue. A partisan policy was cemented by the blood of our soldiers. At a numerous meeting of leading Democrats, then held at the capitol of our State, I introduced a resolution that it was our duty, that we were bound by honor and patriotism, to send immediate relief to our brethren in the field. A terror-stricken press, that now riots in calumny, hailed this resolution with gratitude and praise. At the request of the adjutant-general I named a commit-

tee to get volunteers in the senatorial district in which I live, and at his request I was placed at its head, although I advised him that continued absence from my home and neglect of my affairs made it a great sacrifice to give my attention to its duties. While I was thus engaged, acting harmoniously with this committee, a majority of whom were politically opposed to me, and when, by its exertion, and the patriotic assistance of the citizens of Oneida, the fifth regiment was added to the number which had gone from that county since the beginning of this war; and when I had addressed eight or ten public meetings, notwithstanding the pressure of my duties—more meetings than I shall address in behalf of the ticket upon which my name is placed—and while I was receiving the gratulations of Republicans, against my wishes, I was placed in nomination for the office of Governor. From that moment I have been denounced as a traitor. A nomination having been given to Mr. Tremaine at another convention, from that moment he has been called a patriot. Why these terms applied to us? Simply, because I adhere to a party which I conscientiously believe can save this country, and which I have always supported; and simply because Mr. Tremaine has been “suitably rewarded” by a party he has always denounced and opposed. It may be severe to call me a traitor, but is it not cruel to call Mr. Tremaine a patriot?

Let me here say, in justice to the Governor and military authorities of New York, with whom I have co-operated, that I do not doubt they hear these epithets applied to me with mortification and regret.

Before you go into the patriotic line of business under such auspices, you must see not only what you must be, but what you must do. You are to lay aside all sense of shame, of honor, of consistency. Mr. Tremaine, after the withdrawal of six States from the Union in 1861, uttered the following sentiments:

“And when they find the Government turned into an engine of war and oppression—make the case your own—and then when you make all proper allowances for the fact that our Southern friends are more impulsive than we, that they live under a warmer sun, and act more from impulse than the cooler, calculating Yankee sons of the North, I ask whether they are doing very differently from what human nature would do anywhere under such circumstances?”

I pray you will notice this extract, Mr. Noyes. On Friday last you denounced in bitter terms the revilers of New England. Last week, in the meeting at which you presided, in the face of a multitude, Mr. Tremaine said:

“Allow me, then, gentlemen, to state in a few words that I am, from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, perpendicularly, horizontally and diagonally, in every emotion of my mind, and every faculty and pulsation of my heart, unreservedly and also unconditionally a Union war Democrat, standing upon the platform of war, war, war to the knife, till this rebellion is crushed.”

From this exhibition of Tremaine, I advise you, if you have dealings with that gentleman, not to understand him perpendicularly, but diagonally—very diagonally.

After making a speech in 1861, which he does not repeat, and which his friends dare not publish, he attempts to procure a suppression of my address and of the freedom of debate, by an appeal, not to the people whose suffrages he seeks, but to the tomb, from which he knows no answer can come:

“Suppose that Andrew Jackson were President, and that the rebellion, instead of

having originated in South Carolina, had originated in Massachusetts—the people of that State declaring that they would not remain in the Union while slavery was organized; and suppose that, when the State of New York was called upon to aid the Government, Horatio Seymour had made a speech, devoting three columns to denouncing the Government, and giving encouragement to the rebels, would a single Democrat have permitted such treasonable doctrines to be uttered?”

Such an appeal to the dead hero and statesman to induce the Government to do an unconstitutional and cowardly act, is profanation. I appeal to this living, intelligent people, to sit in judgment upon that speech. In every form and shape we try to lay it before you; while he who denounces it calls for despotic exercise of power, to shut your eyes and close your ears, and at the same moment asks your support and suffrages. It is well to mark those who urge a violation of personal rights.

But there is another unworthy office in which you must engage to save yourselves from the epithet of traitor. It is suspicious to find men anxious to learn what money goes into the treasury, who are violently agitated when we inquire who takes it out. They deem it pertinent to ask who gives money; but impertinent to ask who gets money from Government. Upon that point they demand a suppression of free speech, upon the ground that it diverts attention from the South, or some other distant object.

It is alleged that I have given nothing to our volunteers or their families. I have not deemed it necessary, heretofore, to notice this base falsehood, and I only allude to it now because it is circulated by one who should inform himself with regard to statements he indorses. If he cares to know the truth, he can call upon me and learn what I have done, and he is then at liberty, if he sees fit, to proclaim his conclusions to the world. I say this, that he may do himself, not me, justice. I have given, to procure volunteers, such sums as I deemed liberal on my part. I never have, or never shall, parade before the world my contribution to any purpose. What I have given to the public treasury, or what Mr. Wadsworth has received from it, are not considerations fit to be named at this moment, when the greatest and gravest questions that ever agitated the minds of a people should be earnestly discussed. For another reason, I shall not, in this contest, notice personal attacks. It has been given out that a constant series of assaults will be made, with a view of diverting the attention of myself and friends from the evils it is our duty to lay bare. The ingenious device will not succeed.

An afflicted, thoughtful, and patriotic people ask an earnest inquiry into the causes and history of our calamities, and they are met with threats of violence, arrest, and imprisonment, because the authors of our miseries shrink from the scrutiny. I have alluded to one of the speakers at the meeting held at this place on Wednesday last. When the president of that assemblage listened complacently to the suggestion of Mr. Tremaine—who, after vainly attempting to answer my speech, called for its suppression—he was acting consistently with his history. I remember him as one of those who violently broke up an abolition meeting, and drove it out of the church in which it met. I protested against that act. Mr. Noyes has a right to change his views; but penitence should make men modest, not abusive. If it does not teach him courtesy in the use of terms, he should learn a

little skill in their application. After stating that the Democratic party was broken into fragments at Charleston by a band of traitors and conspirators, he goes on to say that the worst of traitors are the conspirators now in arms against the country, headed by their candidate for President. He then, in malice or ignorance, introduced to his audience the Hon. D. S. Dickinson, who advised his friends to go with the Secessionists into the Richmond Convention, and who supported Mr. Breckinridge at the last presidential election. Mr. Dickinson also addressed meetings with William L. Yancey, and gave countenance to his declaration that the South ought to withdraw from the Union in the event of Mr. Lincoln's election. Since that event, in a speech published under his supervision, he said :

"All the paper laws we have—all the strength, force, and power of the Constitution, the army and navy, the national legislature, and the executive power of the government, are not worth a single rush to compel a State to remain one hour in the confederacy longer than it chooses to remain."

When, from fear, the candidates for the office of lieutenant-governor and the attorney-general turn informers against those who have been led into crime by their speeches, it is natural that mingled shame and fear should make them demand suppression of speech. But is it not a gross insult to this community to put such men forward to heap epithets upon your friends and neighbors, whom you do know to be honest, true, and loyal men ?

Mr. Dickinson, who is in no condition to resent insults from those in whose hands he is now a prisoner of state, poured out his indignation upon me. This gentleman also favors the suppression of free speech, and is unwilling to let the people hear what should be said about the conduct of public affairs.

This effort to check any expression of the views of the people has marked every stage in the history of the war. Before it had assumed its full proportions, when it was yet possible to arrest it, a bill was brought before the Legislature of New York to send commissioners to the peace convention at Washington. This measure was supported by the conservatives and opposed by the radical Republicans. The party was divided. The fate of the bill was in the hands of Democratic members. They knew that Messrs. Field, Wadsworth, Noyes, and others, were ultra men ; but they never doubted that, acting in the spirit of those who confided to them this great trust, they would submit to the people a plan of compromise which would be satisfactory to the Union men of the border States. They were not asked to vote themselves for the measure, if it did not meet their views ; but they were asked and expected to allow the people to express their opinion. No plan could be adopted without the public approval. But these agents would not let the people vote upon Mr. Crittenden's proposition. They took upon themselves the responsibilities of the bloody consequences of this war. They now demand the suppression of speech and of the press, but they shall bear the reproaches which will roll up from desolated homes and a suffering land.

Our opponents complain that at this election we do not occupy our attention solely with the crimes and follies of the South, as if the conduct of men in remote States could throw light upon the interests and duty of citizens of New York when engaged in choosing local officers and representatives. Yet those who thus assail us devote

their entire time to denunciations of conservative citizens. How does it happen that we have a right to attend to everybody's business but our own? It is deemed proper to denounce generals in the field, when we can know nothing about their objects and necessities. It is held to be patriotic to agitate, and to press upon the Executive with menaces, to compel a line of policy with regard to the war. But when we enter upon our duties marked out by our Constitution and laws, and when we are required to express our views of the conduct of our rulers or representatives, and when sacred obligations rest upon us to rebuke frauds, we are told it is unpatriotic to call public attention to these things, as they divert the public mind from the conduct of citizens of other States. The gross personal attacks which are showered upon us are not insults to us, but to this community, which is anxiously considering the sad condition of our country. They are not designed to injure us, but to turn the public attention from frauds and wrongs. I will tell you the objects of these men. When you go down Broadway you will find powerful instruments on the corners of the streets with which you can look at the wonders of the heavens. It is worth your while to examine them. But if you find, while you are thus engaged with remote objects, some person is particularly anxious to absorb your mind by putting forth remarkable theories about the moon and its inhabitants, when you return to this world you may find that your pocket has been picked. Intensely absorbed by our duties in upholding the Government, we find, when we give a moment's thought to our duties here, that the treasury has been robbed. Startled by offences which strike at the power of the nation to sustain its armies, to maintain the national faith, we begin to inquire into these offences, and are at once assailed by suspicious men who wish us to take only telescopic views. We are vehemently told that freedom of speech, personal liberty, honesty of administration, are not consistent with a vigorous prosecution of the war. The men who clamor against every attempt to discuss public affairs are not the true friends of Mr. Lincoln or of the Administration. As much as I abhor the policy of Mr. Stanton, in many respects he is entitled to the gratitude of the nation for his fearless exposures of corruptions and frauds.

Mr. President, under other circumstances I might repel these attacks with indignation. But, standing, as we do, amid the new-made graves of those who have died, in the morning of life, for our country; seeing, on every side, those signs of bereavement which show that men of all classes, creed and parties, are mourning over the loss of kindred and friends, passion and indignation fade away in my heart. When I consider the magnitude of the events with which we deal, and the consequences of our action through all time, the little remnant of my life shrinks into nothingness, and I feel as one standing upon the crumbling brink of my grave. My God, who sees my heart, knows that I long to serve my country loyally, truthfully, and fearlessly. Conscious of my liability to err, I shall treat the views of others with respect. Conscious of the rectitude of my purposes, I shall speak my opinions without reserve and without fear.

My Republican friends, when we warned you in the past of coming danger, you laughed at our apprehensions; but you admit to-day, if we had not spoken we should have been untrue to you as well as to our-

selves. When this war assumed its proportions, we pointed out the fatal error of underrating those with whom we were engaged in combat. You denounced us as sympathizers with treason; to-day you admit if we had not tried to save the blood and treasure wasted by this fatal ignorance we should have been false to you and to our country. Once more we come and implore you to hear. We believe our nation is drifting into difficulties greater and more numerous than those which now surround it. We come to you with no reproaches; in no spirit of arrogance, nor with any pretence of superior wisdom. We do not claim that we were right in the past because we were more intelligent or virtuous than you; but this we do say, that we have acted in the affairs of our country upon those principles which you follow in the ordinary concerns of life as the only rules of conduct. We have clung to maxims which the wisdom of our fathers, and of the great and good of all countries, have taught us. We were willing to accept the teachings of experience, and the result has proved that we were right. Again, you are urged with regard to our laws, our finances, our constitutions, to break away from tried pathways, and to enter upon dangerous experiments. Before you do so, listen to our entreaties.

In the address I made at the late State Convention I described the condition of our country as it was set forth by leading Republican journals and statesmen. Their charges of incompetency, of corruption and error in different departments, are sustained by congressional and official investigations. We have no contest about facts. We are also agreed that these facts should be published to the world, for they have given them a wide circulation. But we contend that some practical use should be made of these facts, and that we should, at this election, place in power those who will in some degree check the tendencies to abuse, where every branch of State and National Government is under the control of one party. Here we differ. I, also, in respectful terms, pointed out the reasons why this country could not be saved by an ultra party, and why it can and will be saved by our conservative party. I propose this night to call your attention to other growing evils, which particularly threaten the interest and safety of this great city.

In discussing the conduct of officials, we must bear in mind that we are not to denounce motives because we do not agree with their conclusions. It is true that our Government is compelled to act under great embarrassments, and frequently without time for consultation or reflection. This should protect them from imputations of bad purposes when they err in judgment; but, on the other hand, it affords no reason why we should approve their errors. If we deem their conclusions wrong, we are bound in honor to say so; and it is unreasonable to charge that, in so doing, we are unwarrantably assailing our Government. It is constantly said that, in time of war and confusion, abuses will creep into the administration of public affairs, and that large allowances must be made for the difficulties of the situation. This is true; but for this very reason we are also bound to exercise unusual vigilance in guarding our rights and our interests. Unusual dangers demand unusual caution. We do not, in religion, in morals, or in business, adopt the errors of our friends; neither should we do so in public affairs. In this spirit let us look at the issue fairly before us.

In the first place, who are the parties to this contest? It is not merely a conflict between the Democratic and Republican organizations, but it is a struggle between the conservative and radical classes of our citizens. (I use these terms because they are well understood, and are, also, respectful.) This was made clear in the convention which placed Mr. Wadsworth in nomination. Those who controlled that body, sought and gained a victory over their more conservative associates. It was a triumph nearer their hearts than any victory they hope to gain over us. To win it, they cheerfully put at hazard the success of their ticket. They did not conceal the fact that they demanded the nomination, because he agreed with them in their controversies with their associates in regard to the conduct and the object of the war, and the policy of Government. They demanded his nomination because, beyond most men, he held and openly expressed extreme opinions on those points. They say they will claim the full benefit of the nomination and of his election, if he is chosen, not only as against us, but against all views which conflict with Mr. Wadsworth's civil and military theories. This is fair, open, and manly. It makes the issues distinct, and every man knows what he indorses and what he condemns, what policy he builds up and what policy he puts down when he deposits his vote in the ballot-box.

We will now state what aspects of the radical policy we condemn. We charge that it tends to disobedience and insubordination. That it wipes out the lines which separate different departments of government, and mark the limits of State and National jurisdiction, thus introducing disorder and confusion into the administration of public affairs. That it has produced a spirit of violence and lawlessness in our country. That it seeks to gain power by destroying freedom of speech, the sanctity of our homes, the sacredness of our persons, and our rights of conscience. That it makes open war upon our Constitution, and that it is a revolutionary policy. That it does not strive to restore the Union, but to overthrow the institutions of States. I will now show, briefly, but I trust, clearly, the truths of these propositions. When you deposit your votes this fall you will not decide upon my interests but your own. The principles you establish you must live under. Compared with their vast importance a political victory is nothing. The authorities at Washington will be influenced by this election in their choice of generals, and in the character of their public measures.

It tends to insubordination and disobedience. Every general who has attempted to interfere with the civil policy of the Government, or who has attempted to outrun its progress, or who has embarrassed it by meddling with questions which did not belong to the army to decide, has been applauded and upheld by the radical press, and the radical organizations. In some instances, antagonism to the views of the Administration constitutes the only claim to the least distinction. If you look to the responses made by the Governors of the States to the legal demands of the President for men to sustain our armies, you will find that only the most radical suggest or demand conditions. If you look abroad among our people you will see that for many years disobedience to laws has been openly taught in the pulpit and the press. A spirit of insubordination has permeated our whole social system, and is shown in National, State, and Municipal organizations.

When this great rebellion broke out, which is itself but a vast exhibition of the same spirit, it found acts for resistance to the laws of Congress upon the statute books of a large number of States; and they were all placed there by the same influence. Wherever this spirit of radicalism has controlled, these acts of insubordination have broken out like plague-spots. Time does not permit me to enlarge upon the proofs of this, but every one who will take up the subjects, or who will look at the tone of its press, will see this spirit shown in the efforts to press upon the President a policy in terms menacing and disrespectful. Even the President of the late Republican State Convention threatened the Administration. On the 23d of April, 1861, he said:—

“Let every one consider the present popular feeling, and ask himself whether the Administration adequately represents and embodies it. The men to incarnate this feeling and to stand forth as its type, *the occasion is yet to bring forth.*”

Again, on the 24th :

“The President runs no small risk of being superseded in his office if he undertakes to thwart the clear and manifest determination of the people to maintain the authority of the Government of the United States, and to protect its honor. We are in the midst of a revolution, and in such emergencies the people are very apt to find some *representative* leader, if the forms of law do not happen to have given them one. It will be well for Mr. Lincoln to bear in mind the possibility of such an event.”

So far as this small rebellion is concerned, when it lifts itself up against the President, he has but to give the command, and your strong arms will dispose of the matter without calling our soldiers back from the Potomac.

The radical policy effaces the lines which separate the jurisdiction of State and National Government, and limits the actions of different departments.

In his farewell address, George Washington left his solemn warning :

“It is important, likewise, that the habit of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those interested with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon the other. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of the position.”

How fearfully have these truths been illustrated during the war! How bloody have been the proofs of their wisdom! Congress interferes with the President, the constitutional commander of our armies and navies. It appoints a war committee, who not only annoy the President, but assume to make direct investigations into the conduct of officers. For some of that committee I have great respect, and I know that they have tried to mitigate these evils; but others were the open revilers of generals in the field, and this, too, in places resorted to by subordinate officers, who thus heard their superiors denounced by senators, and were taught insubordination by those who make laws for our control. I need not recall to your memories this aspect of our affairs, or their fatal consequences. Generals, who won

honors in other fields, were blasted by its influences. Armies, which gained victories and added to our national glory elsewhere, languished or were cut down under this blighting spirit. It has filled our land with mourning; it has perplexed our rulers. The conspicuous men in this policy belonged to this radical organization.

Look again at the recent convention of governors. Each man there lost his official powers when he left the limits of his State; yet they affected positions denied to them by their respective State governments, and perplexed an anxious people by secret proceedings, and attempted to influence the President of the United States by a movement at variance with the genius of our institutions. If they had no objects beyond those avowed, it was a folly which increased the public alarm at this period of national disquietude.

We have another apparent conflict between the judiciary and the army and the Executive. Many who speak of disloyalty to Government, forget that the judiciary is one of its independent branches, as much so as the executive or the legislative department. It is one without which it cannot be carried on. It is as treasonable to assail its jurisdiction as to attack any other part of our national system. I say there is an apparent conflict, for I will not believe that Mr. Lincoln claims the right to suspend the great writ of personal liberty, or to do any act under the war power, unless he thinks he can do so consistently with the Constitution. I assert my belief and confidence that he expects that all these acts will in due time be brought before the judiciary. If that decides he has been right, his acts will stand; if it decides he has been mistaken, they fall, with all the consequences which attach to a mistaken construction of law. Our Constitution contemplates such differences of views, and it provides for them. They have happened before, and they will happen again. His suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* must thus be tested. So with regard to his proclamation of emancipation. As to its lack of wisdom and efficacy, I cordially indorse the views expressed by him in his interviews with the clergymen from Chicago. As to its legality, no man has ever doubted that the slaves of men in rebellion can be rightfully taken from them, with any other kind of property, by virtue of law; but I do not believe the rights or the property of loyal men, either at the North or South, can be destroyed by a proclamation in peace or war. Can we say that the conduct of a disloyal majority can forfeit the property of a loyal minority, when we hold that a majority of loyal citizens cannot destroy the rights of a single citizen if he has been guilty of no offence? This was decided by our courts when they set aside coercive temperance laws. Can we safely admit the principle, that the crimes of one class can forfeit the property, the rights of conscience, or the liberties of innocent men? This point must come before the judiciary. There all will meet upon a level, and presidents and people alike must bow to its judgments.

The idea that the conduct of rebellious men can forfeit the rights of others, is still more dangerous. When we object to legal acts oppressive to loyal States, it is constantly said in reply: "The South sets aside the Constitution. For this act we war upon it." But can the conduct of disloyal States impair the privileges of those which are true to the flag? The South never had as much interest in the just construction of the Constitution as the more active, commercial, and

populous North. We have always had more varied interests which required its protection. Its provisions will lose none of their value if the most disastrous results befall us. On the contrary, amid the confusion of revolution and the disorganization of society, we learn the full value of the great principles which have been wrought out in times of oppression, suffering, and calamity. We therefore deny that our rights under the Constitution can be forfeited by the treasonable conduct of rebellious States.

Let me take another instance of this inclination to interfere with the jurisdiction of the constituted authorities. It may be ludicrous in some respects, but it is dangerous in others. It proves the loose ideas of government which begin to prevail in our country. In response to a call to uphold the Government, there was a vast assemblage in your city. Amidst its enthusiasm, which showed itself in its customary forms of music and oratory, there was a tempered patriotism, which, at one of its numerous stands, moved the appointment of a committee. It contemplated raising funds to promote enlistments and other worthy objects; I believe in the outset it confined itself to its appropriate duties. Unfortunately, it called itself the *national war committee*. I attribute all its mistakes to that unfortunate name. I suppose it indicated that its objects were national. But the committee soon fell into a maze, and it was decided that the word *national* was a term of jurisdiction. I do not doubt the moving and modest spirits of the committee were appalled at this discovery, but having a large share of moral courage, they entered into this broad field. Washington was visited; the camps were explored; the governors of States were advised as to their duties; Governor Morgan was informed that our State was exposed to invasion, and he was called upon to organize the militia forthwith. He quietly sent them a large volume, containing the laws upon that subject, showing what had been done. This was received with indignation, for it would take as much time to read and understand it as it would to meddle with the affairs of half a dozen States, and would also interfere with the project of raising 50,000 men outside of State and National organizations. For this offence the radical leaders withheld the usual complimentary vote at their convention, although his labors have been immense. They even passed over the military of New York to applaud those of other States, although at the time this State had sent more men to Washington under the late call than all the other States united. The mayor of your city, a man of intelligence, who has shown capacity in his business affairs, acts as its chairman; although his position as a high executive officer should have shown him the danger of such voluntary committees assuming such jurisdiction in a time of civil war and popular commotion. Many of its members saw its tendencies and resigned. They felt the danger of the example. There is no monopoly in making national war committees. With equal claims to advise, direct and sit in judgment upon men's opinions, or their supposed opinions, they may be got up by every class. In a little time your whole city will be divided into associations, under the control of men claiming to interfere with the Government. History shows this to be the most dangerous phase of revolutionary agitation. How happens it that sensible men have drifted into this false position? and how happens it that these vague ideas of government and order always belong to the party that boasts that it is radical?

I appeal to all thoughtful men if there is not a tendency, on the part of the extreme men who now control the opposing organization, to obscure the limitations of departments? I appeal to them if they will admit such principles into their stores, their factories, or workshops? I ask, if it would certainly make confusion and bankruptcy there, will it not work out the same mischiefs in government? Yet you are called upon to approve this policy by your votes. To what end do you adhere to principles in the conduct of your private affairs, if you bring about universal ruin by violating those principles in public affairs?

Those who have lost their respect for conventions, and have thrown aside those maxims of government to which we are content to cling, in entering upon untried experiments and dangerous theories, have not only introduced disorders and insubordinations into civil and military departments, but they have also introduced into political discussions a spirit of lawlessness. With the impatience of theorists, and the irritability of those who are disappointed when their schemes do not succeed, they indulge not only in fierce abuse, but they openly advocate violence. And this, too, in the loyal North, and against those who have shown obedience to laws and a respect for an Executive elected against their wishes, unequalled in the history of any nation. A few days since, a man who lately represented our people at the court of one of the greatest powers of the world, and who is now in the enjoyment of the pay and honors of the highest military rank, publicly expressed the wish that my life might be destroyed. He not only teaches violence in a great city, with all its elements of tumult and disorder, but his passions and vindictiveness are taught to our soldiers through the press. The radical journals declare that this speech was calm and just. Yet his very presence at the meeting at which he spoke was a moral offence against the just feeling that officers in the army ought not, while in service, become imbued with political passions or mingled with political intrigues. The land is now red with the blood of our Northern soldiers, sacrificed and murdered as victims of partisan jealousies and schemes. His attendance at a political meeting was a wrong to a heavily taxed community. To give to party what he owed to the country—his time and exertions—was an act of injustice. We are becoming accustomed to violence of speech and action. They make no impression upon us, but they are sinking deep into the congenial minds of bad and desperate men, where they foster and nourish those passions that may hereafter burst upon your homes and your families. I might multiply instances of this thirst for personal injury upon others, which is shown in the anxiety expressed for arrest and imprisonments. They have all gone out to excite bitterness, and to add to the sum of public hate. This malignity of feeling and purpose has become so conspicuous that, whether you wish it or not, the citizens of New York must by their votes rebuke or uphold it. In a good degree you are to decide if you are to live hereafter under the laws of the State or the laws of violence. You do not know what direction public violence may take. Do not, I invoke you, my Republican friends, countenance its spirit. Do not again mock our warning, when we tell you now, as we told you before, that words of hate and threats of injury end in bloodshed and disorder.

Let me here state distinctly to those who revile us—who threaten

with imprisonment for freedom of speech—that during the long period the Democratic party held power it made no such arrests. It will soon regain its ascendancy. No effort on your part, however frantic, will prevent this. When it is restored to power no man's person will be seized without process of law. No man's right to the "writ of liberty" will be denied or abridged. Every man's home will be held to be sacred. When you ask the protection from legal tribunals you deny to us, you shall have it. You shall follow your vocation of abuse and calumny as securely as now. When you invoke Government to violate our rights, I am proud to say we always felt strong enough in conscious rectitude to meet the scrutiny of our opponents, and to repel assaults with arguments and reason.

Respect for the National Constitution is no longer expressed by many prominent men and journals. We are no longer surprised to hear declarations that they do not wish the Constitution as it is, but as it ought to be in the judgment of wild and visionary men. Many who do not hesitate to express their want of confidence in these theorists as individuals, still follow them when they control organizations which make them powerful and dangerous. The time was when the rights of person, property, and conscience were held to be safe behind the barriers of the Constitution. See the extent to which the judiciary is weakened, not alone by the exigencies of war, but by the loss of public reverence growing out of vague theories engendered by higher-law doctrine. I implore you, my radical friends, to pause and see how much further you can drift in the direction you are swept along, without wrecking our political or social system. Beginning with the Chicago resolutions, which were then extreme views, what points have you now reached?

While our brethren are battling in the field for our flag, and our Union, have we no home duties to perform? They were never so great or urgent as now. Our fireside rights are ever of the deepest interest, and must ever be vigilantly guarded. There must be a perpetual watch over the sanctity of our homes. Our rights of conscience concern not our interests here, but through all eternity. Our opponents do not hold that they are restrained by the condition of the war from pressing their policy of State government. They have submitted amendments of our State Constitution, which open up the discussion of coercion against voluntary temperance, violations of law and personal rights which tend to the distraction of public faith. The connection between all parts of the social and political fabric are too obvious to need a word of proof. Now, the faith pledged to the public creditor at this time is peculiarly sacred. The money poured into the National treasury was not brought out in a time of confidence, but in a period of doubt and danger. It did not seek profitable investment, but the country's safety. These claims are held alike by the rich and the poor. The amounts owned by corporations represent the interests of women and children, of the aged and infirm, throughout society. Still more sacred are the claims of our soldiers to the pensions and bounties they earn at the cost of blood, of health, and exposure. Shall we be justified if these are turned to dust and ashes by a national bankruptcy, which may be brought upon us by extravagance and corruption, if we neglect our duties at home while our brethren are combating in the field?

This election, beyond any that has been held in the history of our country, is to decide the spirit of our legislation, and affect the order, the security, and the happiness of the people of this State. Do not mistake the parties—they are not the candidates upon the ticket, but the voters who shall elect them. You are now sitting in solemn judgment upon your own interests. You cannot escape, if you would, the consequences of your decision to yourselves and families. If it is true that the radical organization does tend to the evils I have charged, then you are to be the sufferers by their success.

Having pointed out the evils which a visionary and wild radicalism has brought upon our Government, our army, and our people; and having shown the terrible calamities with which we are threatened if conservative men shall uphold these theories by their action at this election, it is our duty to state clearly our position, and show the influence of our success. Earnest, thoughtful men, have a right to know what we mean to do, and how our conduct will affect the action of Government and the conduct of the war. Upon these points they have a right to full and clear declarations. Let us confront the truths of our national position. We must accept facts as they stand. Overlooking all the past, we find the armed strength of the Government and of the rebellion engaged in deadly conflict. The sword is now the arbiter. Not only are the ranks of the armies arrayed in the defence of our flag filled by our friends and relatives, but we know that upon the results of battles hang the destinies of our country. Its greatness, its prosperity, its glory, are poised upon the turn of the conflict. I have shown, in temperate language, how this has been perilled by the confusion and evils brought upon us by wild and speculative theories, and by an abandonment of tried pathways. Bewildered, irritated, and perverse, the agitators are still pushing on in the same fatal policy. They are willing to sacrifice all the blood and the treasure of the people, but they are not willing to sacrifice one passion or one prejudice. On the other hand, while our views have been rejected, we have calmly and firmly adhered to the tradition of our fathers, that authorities must be upheld in the rightful exercise of power, whether we liked their policy or not. Hence our support has been unwavering, unconditional, and true. The election of our whole ticket would not revolutionize political power, but it would qualify that monopoly of all departments of Government which we have seen tends to corruption and despotism when unchecked. Our success, for other reasons, would bring this war to a successful conclusion. It would carry us back to the point from which we started, and for which the whole country rallied as one man—the restoration of the Union, the support of the Constitution. The war would have a definite object upon which all men would be united in feeling. The heart of the country, the hopes of the army, the confidence of capitalists would be strengthened, for they would know that this end could be gained. At this time they feel that they are struggling to carry out the indefinite, shifting and violent purposes of theorists and fanatics, whose purposes to-day are not the purposes they avowed at the outset. Many of them declare they do not wish to restore the Union unless they can revolutionize the social system of the South. This has become the first, not the subordinate object. It engrosses their thoughts and feelings. It has made dis-

cussions in Congress, intrigues in the army, confusion in the public mind. When this social revolution became the great object with this class of minds, all other things were sacrificed to it. From the time we have been divided and distracted, loyal men in the South have been driven off or discouraged. We have all felt that we were entering upon a gloomy, uncertain future. A popular expression in favor of the objects avowed in the President's Inaugural Address, and solemnly pledged in the Congressional resolutions of 1861, would at once put us upon that ground which would stop Congressional controversies, would restore the energy of the Union men of the South, would strengthen the nation's credit by making a definite issue upon which we can succeed, instead of those whose success would disorganize one-half of our land, even if success could be attained by the means thus proposed. What would be the position of the Conservative party if it carries this election? It has been true, loyal, obedient in the minority. It will be true, loyal, and obedient if it gains some share of political power. It will hold in check those who are constantly pressing their peculiar theories upon the Government and army, without regard to the sacrifices they cause, or the embarrassments they create.

We not only concede, but we demand that the President of the United States, the representative of our laws, our dignity, and our power, shall at all times be treated with deference, and spoken of in respectful terms. Our success, therefore, instead of weakening the Administration in its efforts to subdue the rebellion, must inevitably strengthen it, and will aid in shaking off those radical influences by which it has heretofore been annoyed and embarrassed.

Again, fellow-citizens, upon this occasion, as upon every occasion when we have assembled since the outbreak of this rebellion, we solemnly dedicate ourselves and all we hold dear to a restoration of the Union as it was. To this end the ranks of our armies shall be kept full, and the treasury of our nation replenished. This support shall not be held back by us to coerce Government to adopt a peculiar line of policy. Again, with equal solemnity, we pledge ourselves to uphold our Constitution as it is against every influence and threat. It is not that we are merely desirous the South should return to their duties and enjoy its protection, but because it is *our* Constitution. It does not belong peculiarly to them, and it is not to be confiscated by their acts. Its guarantees are *our* protection—it guards the fruits of *our* toil—it shelters the sacredness of *our* homes—it saves *our* persons from violence and wrong—and above all and beyond all, it allows no power to step in between us and our Maker in the exercise of freedom of conscience. Its guarantees are the sum of all the great principles of liberty, of equality, and justice, wrought out by the toil and suffering of the patriots of our own and other lands. It is a sacred trust received from our fathers, and which must be handed down to the future unimpaired and un mutilated. By God's help that trust shall be kept at every sacrifice and every suffering.

Mr. Seymour at the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Academy of Music, October 22, 1862.

The Democracy as a Majority—Its Demands of the Government—The Situation—The Duty of Citizens—The Usefulness of Parties—Obedience to constituted Authorities—The Remedy for alleged Grievances—Republican and Democratic Loyalty contrasted—United support of the Government essential to Success—Insubordination in Army and Civil Life rebuked—Sectional Misrepresentation denounced—Free Discussion demanded—Honesty and Economy in the Administration of National Affairs essential to Success—Contract Swindles pointed out—The Mode in which the Nation's Life is to be saved—Constitution tinkering—The Union as it was, the true purpose of the War—Prosperity under Democratic Rule—Attitude of the Democracy toward the South.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The events of the last few days have changed our relations to this Government. A few months ago we were apparently a minority, who had no legal rights, no protection for our persons, no protection for our homes. But the elections which have taken place from Maine to Minnesota have demonstrated this, that at every point, either the majorities of the Radical party have been diminished, or they have encountered serious and conclusive defeats, and for all moral purposes we are now the representatives of that great Conservative party that commands the situation. I do not merely speak of every revolution in office. I speak of that effect which the world will heed, and which will be heeded, too, at the seat of government—that the American people demand a wise conservative policy, looking to the restoration of our Union, and demanding the upholding of our Constitution in all its completeness. I stand before you this night speaking on behalf of the great conservative interests of our country, as one who should be outspoken in his statements. I do not feel as one who comes before you to plead for your suffrages; but I feel as one that stands here now, knowing your sentiments, and knowing your views, with a right to say what policy will govern us hereafter in our conduct toward the great questions which now agitate the American mind. It has truly been said that the life of our nation is in peril. This very proposition, involving, as it does, not alone our Government, but our social system, our personal security, our home rights, is one of such magnitude that we are bound to approach it with an earnest, honest, and sincere desire to do our whole duty in the premises. In this spirit I shall speak to you this night. I shall not find it necessary, in discussing these questions, to use a single epithet, or to indulge in a single denunciation. If I am honored this night with the attendance of one of those who are politically opposed to me, I beg him to understand that I came here in no spirit of arrogance, with a view of dictating to him what his policy should be. I have no terms of reproach as to the past; but I do stand here most earnestly to implore him to listen not to my wisdom, but to the wisdom of our fathers, who formed this Constitution; not to yield to our views. We seek no such triumphs; but we do implore him to yield to the views of the great and good men who laid the foundation of this Government and this Constitution, under which we became so great, so prosperous, and so mighty as a nation.

I do stand here to invoke him to return again to those time-honored principles which for so many years were recognized by men of all classes as essential to our safety and security as a people. Speaking, then, as I feel I have a right to do, on behalf of the great conservative party that from this time forth is to shape the policy of our Government, I mean to be most explicit and outspoken in all that I have to say. I shrink from no question. I seek to grapple with every problem involved in our present position. If the people of this State shall see fit again to place me in the executive chair, I wish to go there with a full understanding on their part of all my views and all my purposes.

What then is now the situation of our land? I do not propose to look backward. I do not propose to review the past. I propose, in the first place, to inquire what is now the situation of our country, and what duty it is that its condition imposes upon us. I believe this war might have been averted; but though I thus believe I recognize the fact of its existence, and recognizing that fact, I accept it as a thing that I am bound to regard in all my views as to the policy of the future. I recognize and accept the fact that at this moment the destinies, the honor, and the glory of our country hang poised upon the conflict in the battle-field. I recognize the fact now, that whether we would have had war or not, it exists in all its vast proportions in our land; and I recognize the fact now, that it is the duty of every man who loves his country, of every true man who would stand by its institutions, to see now that the whole measure of his influence, and all the weight of his power, is thrown in that battle-field, on the side of the flag of our Union. For the reason, then, that we are bound to do in the future what many of us have done in the past, I have stood amid the hills and valleys of the country where I live to invoke our young men to rally to the standard of our country. I have done all that it was in my power to do to uphold this Government. Although it was not the Administration of my choice, still it was the Government of my country; and I have invoked all men to stand loyally by it, because such was their duty. Now, in this matter let me state distinctly what I understand to be the position of the great conservative classes of our land. And I use this term "conservative" in antagonism to the term "radical" for this reason: I do not ignore the existence of parties in our country; I do not wish to ignore them. I believe them to be essential to the wise and judicious conduct of our affairs. But the convention that met at Syracuse, and which placed in nomination another ticket than that upon which my name stands, saw fit to mark out a new line. They saw fit there to seek a triumph not alone over us, but over the conservative principles of their own organization. They saw fit to say that they would put in nomination a ticket whose very presentation by their organization should be an argument at the capital of our country that their own peculiar extreme views and policy should be followed out by this Government. In behalf of conservative men, I care not what party they have heretofore acted with, I accept the issue they have made with us. I will state it plainly and clearly, and show why at this time we should be sustained by the great body of loyal, conservative, intelligent citizens of our State. In the first place, then, we hold principles upon this subject which are not held by our oppo-

nents, that are essential not only to our success in this great war in which we are engaged, but which are indispensable for the success of the Government in existence. I opposed the election of Mr. Lincoln; I deplored the result. But he was elected constitutionally, and it was my duty to bow to that decision and to sustain him with loyal purpose as the President of the United States. I deplored the policy which he adopted at the outset of his administration; but it was his right to decide, and it was my duty to obey, and I yielded to the decisions of rightful authority. My friends, we have always been opposed to the doctrine of "higher law"—that doctrine that men had a right to set up their own views, their own passions, their own prejudices against the laws of the land and the decrees of regularly-constituted authorities acting within their constitutional limits.

We held that if men were displeased with the laws they should have them repealed—they should not be resisted; we held if men were opposed to those in authority, the rightful remedy was given by our Constitution—the kind of remedy that was used against me once when you became tired of me—you turned me out. That is the remedy for an unpopular officer. We contended for this principle of loyalty—this doctrine of obedience to law—this principle that you are bound to respect authority. Those principles which we advocated then, we mean to remember now, fully and completely. We tender, then, to this Government, no conditional support; we recognize Mr. Lincoln as the President of these United States, as the representative of its honor, of its dignity, of its strength; and although I am politically opposed to him, never have I allowed myself to utter against him one disrespectful term, nor will I ever allow myself to do so. Here, my radical friends, you have the terms:—No conditional loyalty—no terms imposed upon you that we wish you to adopt our policy, but so far as you have a right to mark out another policy, it shall receive our unwavering, cheerful support. That is our position upon the subject—that is the policy we have ever advocated—not now alone, when we are in a majority—not two years ago, but one year ago as well as now. When many of our Republican friends were denouncing the Administration of their own creation, when many of its journals were indulging in language which we held to be unfit as applied to the chief magistrate of this country, we came forward and urged the sentiments which I am now expressing to you. But how is it on the other side of the house? They say that we are not loyal men. We are not unfrequently denounced as men untrue to our Government, notwithstanding that we have not only made these declarations, but we have carried them out to the very letter and the very spirit. Has their loyalty been unconditional? Has their obedience been without terms? I beg of you to look back and see how this was. Who was it that demanded, before troops should be sent to defend the flag of the Government, that that Government should form a policy that pleased him? Who was it but the extreme radical Governor of the State of Massachusetts, who could not do what we would have done? Who among the journals of this country was it that assailed this Administration, that threatened it with overthrow? Was it a Democratic editor? My friends, you know it was not. (Cries, "Raymond.") Who among the journals of this country but those that expressed the sentiments of the great Radical party, have

endeavored at all times to force their views and policy upon the Government of these United States, without regard to the embarrassment which they might occasion? Not Democratic, not conservative journals, but the men who denounce you and me as being untrue to our institutions, as not loving that flag as well as they love it. I charge here, I put it to you if the charge is not true, that they have been foremost in every measure that was calculated to embarrass this Government, and hinder a successful prosecution of the war. Now, let me say this, that in addition to furnishing the Government with all its demands of arms and of armed forces, you must have, in addition to that, a loyal support on the part of the people of this country. It is in vain to furnish arms, it is in vain to furnish material strength, unless your Government is strengthened in its policy by the knowledge that the great body of the people will adopt the principles I have stated—those of obedience to law and respect to constituted authority.

Now, my friends, how are we to get that union of action, that entire concert, that is to bring this war to a short and triumphant result? I appeal to you, if it can be done upon the principles of action which have been indorsed by the radical party—radical principles; if every man is to oppose his own will, his own theories, his own honest convictions, to the action of the Government, if this vast community can ever be brought to that concert of action, without which we never can succeed in putting down this wicked and mighty rebellion.

I appeal to you, my radical friend. I ask you if you will not come upon our ground—that which we have ever held—throw away your higher-law doctrine, that your will is superior to the Constitution of the land. Come with us upon this simple, plain platform that, laying aside our own peculiar, distinctive views, we will all unite in the declaration that the laws must be sustained, the authorities of our country respected, and this war be brought to a speedy and successful termination. I appeal to you if there is any other ground of complete union. If there is no other ground of complete concord of action, I ask you if this proposition, coming from us, or those who are politically opposed to the Government, ought not to be respected by those upon the other side of the house? Let them but do this, let them but be as loyal as we will be in this contest, and then I tell you the clouds of darkness that now hang over our land will disappear, and we shall again indulge the hope of making our country what it was but three short years since—the glory and admiration of the world.

There is another thing, my radical friend, that we must look to; insubordination must be rebuked in the army and in all departments of the Government. I appeal to you again in regard to this. Who in the field have all the time obeyed cheerfully all the decisions of the Government? have taken those positions that have been assigned to them by the constituted authorities, without complaint? have cheerfully and laboriously continued to perform their duties as well as they might without dividing and distracting the community with the stories of their personal wrongs and all their personal disappointments? Who are the generals who have been made prominent from the fact that they have placed themselves in antagonism to their superiors, and have attempted to overthrow the policy of the Government, in order that they might gain to themselves peculiar distinction, instead

of confining themselves to a faithful service in upholding the constituted authorities and winning victories on the battle-field? Now this spirit of insubordination must be put down if you would save the fate of our country.

But, my friends, another thing is necessary to the nation's life. The people must be fairly dealt with. There must be no more withholding of truth from the popular eye. Why, look at this thing for a moment. Look at the consequences to our country of that policy which kept us in darkness as to the actual condition of things in our country. Why, the very general term is used that we have been laboring under a misapprehension. How happened it, my friends, that more than 200,000 Northern men, in all the vigor of life—young men, the hopes of families—the hopes of our land—have been laid in new-made graves, but from the fact that we have had what is called a misapprehension of the power of those with whom we are contending. Now, whence came this misapprehension? Was it accidental—was it casual? We were all of us taught in our school-boy days the resources of the South, their productions, and from the character of their country what they were able to do. We were taught their character for bravery, we had read the story of the revolutionary struggle, we had all heard of Jackson and the battle of New Orleans. We had all of us gloried in the stern valor of Taylor, and knew the courage of the American people North and South. But more than that, how happened it in this great metropolis, here in this great city of Brooklyn, where you saw every day when you looked over yonder beautiful bay, your vessels deeply freighted with the rich products of the South; when you saw daily evidence of their wealth and of their ability to buy produce; how was it that you were made to believe that these were a helpless, dependent, poverty-stricken people? How came it that against your early teachings, against your reading in history, against the very observations of daily life, you entertained and cherished this monstrous mistake that is being blotted out by the red blood from the veins of your brothers? Do you not know? Do you not remember? Go back to your press—go back to your rostrum—and, alas, sometimes go back to the sacred house of God, and see if you were not taught these express fallacies. It was no accident. I tell you this fatal ignorance was the result of long years of systematic teaching that has brought upon this land the terrible calamities which now afflict it. Say what you please and think what you please as to the cause of this war—say it is slavery, say it is abolitionism, say it is ambition, say it is thirst for wealth—but every man knows if the people of this country, North and South, had been well informed with regard to each other, this war would never have been.

I assert here that without that great underlying cause—that ignorance—those misapprehensions, those mistakes that were so industriously inculcated in your minds, our country to-day would not be filled with blood shed by brothers in an unnatural strife. Now I say, my friends, that the nation's life demands the truth—outspoken truth. We must be no longer amused with cabinet officers and others who stand before you and tell you that this, in the outset, was a little thing—a matter of thirty days, or ninety days, or of the next three months. Why, do you remember a little while ago when a man's person was

unsafe in your intelligent city, if he had said that 200,000 men could not crush out this rebellion? and more than 200,000 now sleep in bloody graves. My radical friends, I again invoke you, do not think that concealing the truth destroys the truth. Do not think that if you could even close our lips to full and free debate, that you would avert the terrible calamity that ignorance and false statement of affairs must inevitably bring upon this land. You imprison your gold, you lock it up in barns, you hide it away in deep vaults—and yet it tells of a depreciated currency as freely as if it circulated in the daylight and passed from hand to hand. Close our mouths if you will to abuses of government, lock us up, if you will, because we tell you of intrigues that are brought to view upon your brothers in the field, and the ocean itself is reddened with the flames of your burning ships, you cannot stop discussion. You will aggravate the evil. We tell you for your own benefit as well as for our own, that this great conservative party will govern this country. I tell you, my dear radical friends, whether you like it or not, the day is come when a mighty political revolution is not only about to take place, but has actually taken place. I tell you that when we have that power, which we will get, we will not only freely speak and freely act, but so will you, for this we will tell you: we will never retort the unworthy threats that you made against us. And when you discuss our policy, when you condemn our judgment, you shall be protected by our strong arm as completely as we now protect ourselves.

But there is another thing which is necessary to save the nation's life: honesty and economy in the administration of public affairs. Now, you and I have not unfrequently been told, when we wished to point out what we regarded as a very great evil in public affairs, that we were untrue to our country, that we were diverting the public mind entirely from the war into some other channel.

Now, this thing has puzzled us. We cannot understand how our friends upon the other side find so much leisure to discuss the merits or demerits of individuals. I am exceedingly puzzled to know why it is worth while to write long articles about a man so insignificant as myself, when, if you or I attempt to look into monstrous frauds; we are told we should not divert the public mind from the great war at the South.

But look at this thing. I tell you that it is in vain that you place armies in the field, it is in vain that you peril your lives, it is in vain that you send out your sons, your brothers, your friends, if, when they are placed in the battle-field, there is not a wise system of government to sustain them there, and an honest administration of affairs that shall supply them with all the necessities of life and means of carrying on this war successfully. Every man admits that corruption destroys our armies as well as it destroys the national morality. All men know that unless you have honesty and economy in the conduct of national affairs, and in the conduct of private affairs, ruin inevitably follows.

Now, what are the facts in regard to these things? I appeal to you, my friends, when you read your journals; I appeal to you, my radical friends—it is for you I speak as well as for myself—it is good government for you we ask as well as for ourselves; I appeal to you if you find in those journals those facts which concern your interests;

statements of monstrous frauds that have been developed—not charged by us—not subjects of vague imputation, but which have been proved to exist by authentic documents emanating from Congress, emanating from official investigation, conceded frauds. I ask you if at this time, when the nation's life is at stake, you have this great corrupting danger pointed out to your attention? Why, our friends on the other side of the house like to talk about the nation's life being in danger; but when you begin to talk about the frauds on the soldiers, you are untrue to your country. I tell you, my friends, that unhappy individual who hopes to conceal from the world the truth within himself, and hopes that concealment will be a remedy, only hastens himself on to an untimely end; and the Government where frauds are concealed, and where it is held to be unpatriotic to lay them bare, is on the safe road to destruction.

Put an end to this rebellion to-morrow, let the memory of slavery be forgotten, and I tell you that if you have a corrupt Government, you are as inevitably lost as if the armies of the enemy were entering the capital of the country.

Nay more, my friends, that our habitations are ravaged by fire and by sword that can but do their work and then but pass away, but there is the source of a never-ceasing corruption, which will not only destroy the national spirit but disgrace the national character.

Now let me call your attention to one or two facts to which every man who is interested in his country's good must give the fullest consideration, and I ask you if they were ever directed to your consideration either through the press or by those who stood up before you in authority, acting in this dread crisis of our country's fate, when every man should be honest and faithful. And I shall select only one from a whole mass of testimony. The document is numbered "Fraud No. 62." And these are the investigations of a single committee. I ask you why it is? It is not inconsiderate to lay these matters before you.

And while we who are loyal to this Government; who have sent our friends to the battle-field and its attendant loss; we who, too many of us, bear around us the signs of sorrow for the dead; we who have risked our lives in all honesty, and God knows in all sincerity, to meet the dangers which threatened the nation's life, it is too bad that, in the face of such sacrifices, we should have such a record as this. I hold in my hand a report made by Robert Dale Owen and Joseph Holt, which states among a great many other things, that they found in the contract for arms this thing to be true. They found that one establishment had a contract for furnishing pistols to the Governments of Europe for \$12.50 apiece. What did these patriotic men do who adopted this scheme? They charged your Government \$25 a piece for those arms; but by some strange circumstance, while another concern offered to furnish the same article for \$15 apiece, while they only cost \$9, although the committee say they made a weapon equally good and perhaps superior, they could only get a contract for 5,000, while the patriotic company that charged \$25 apiece, while the others charged \$12 elsewhere, got a contract for 30,000, and the profit made thereby amounted at least to \$300,000. I go on and find that by the act of 1838 a provision was made that no member of Congress should be interested in any contract, and that again

in 1853 this law was amended, and its provisions made more stringent; yet this committee tell us that while all of the first four contracts contain the clause that no member of Congress shall take part in those Government contracts, yet in regard to all the other acts, involving an amount of more than \$30,000,000, there was put into those contracts the provisions demanded by the laws of your country. I leave this fact to you, my radical friends. Study your congressional reports. Read these investigations. Learn for yourselves if fraud does not reek at the National Capital. See if John P. Hale, Republican Senator, did not tell the truth when he said that our armies had more to fear from corruption in the department than from enemies in the field.

Let me pass on to the consideration of some other points. If you will put the question to yourselves—if you will sit down in your own quiet homes and by your hearth-sides, and inquire of this as you would with regard to your own private interests and concerns, you will find that you will be required to do what your conscience could never approve, and what you could not but condemn as inconsistent with true notions of patriotism. I appeal to you as business men—as men in the private walks of life—why should not these things be regarded as essentially important in the conduct of National affairs? Is the departure from sound policy and honest rules of conduct less dangerous in the management of public affairs, than in the management of private affairs? It is necessary that you should learn that you cannot save the nation's life unless you do what we now urge you to do, not only to sustain your army, to support your fleets, but to demand a clear statement of the National affairs, and to require that they be conducted not only by efficiency, but with honesty, economy, and integrity.

Permit me now to say a few words to you, as to the mode in which the nation's life is to be saved. It is not my remedy. I do not urge this because it is a conclusion I have arrived at. It is a wisdom in realizing which you are as much interested as I am. It is as much for your glory as for mine. It is for the suffering, the patriotism, and the toil of the land. It is for the suffering of our own race of every land, who for long years have been laboring and oppressed. It is for the benefit of the human race. The remedy for all this thing is the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution must not only be saved, but saved by a certain strict adherence to the charter of your liberties. Why do they say it is spoken of so lightly? Why is it that when we are in the midst of a civil war, men are so prone to uphold each other in his liberties and rights? Is it not because we know that there is a Constitution of the United States? And is that a mere parchment? Is it a mere dead letter, obsolete and valueless? Tell me as soon that yonder flag is merely a bunting without inspiration or significance as the emblem of a powerful nation and the ensign of free institutions—institutions which we are bound at any sacrifice to protect and preserve. We are not only in favor of a thorough war policy, but we propose to bring this war to a speedy and successful conclusion, because we are determined that thus we shall restore the Union as it was. Now we are told by a great many that they don't want the Union as it was, but the Union as it should be according to their ideas of it. Without impeaching the wisdom

of those men, without impeaching their patriotism, let us look at this thing. Why do you doubt us when we tell you what we propose to do? That is something definite and within our reach. When you engaged in this stupendous undertaking of conquering the Southern States, had you not a project before you that was indefinite in its purpose and indefinite in its end? When these people say they want the Constitution amended, that implies that it shall be amended according to the wishes and rights of every man in the land.

When I say the Constitution is to be amended, and that it must be amended according to my plan, as well as Mr. Greeley's, it shall be amended without end. One man may want to insert a provision that will bear heavily on one section of the country; another man may insist on a provision that will bear with equal hardship on another section; another, still, may insist on a clause depriving a class of his fellow-citizens of their personal rights. When you give countenance to the proposition that henceforth you shall not tolerate the Union as it was, you throw into this country an endless element of confusion and discord. You must see that such would be the result. All men must see it. Many of us here are from New England, or of New England descent. Look at that compromise the South has made. Here are six States, with less population than New York, less territory than that from Missouri to Minnesota, and yet in these every man has, in the election of a United States Senator, six times the voice of a citizen of New York.

We of New York are willing to submit, because we love our country, and we are willing to make sacrifices for it. If you begin to undo your Constitution, where will you stop? You may be asked by some, do you not believe all men are born equal? Why are not men born equal in New England, then? You began to say we will have nothing in the Constitution inconsistent with what means equality and natural rights. Where will you end? Where will this war end? I appeal to you, my friends, look at your Constitution. Take it up and read it. See the question settled by its judgment. Read it for yourselves, and see to what conclusions you will be compelled, if you once enter upon the business of taking it to pieces, and bringing before this great excited community questions that were settled only by the utmost calmness and patriotism, under the pressure brought to bear upon them by all the mistakes and sufferings of the Revolutionary struggle.

God knows I love my country. He who knows my thoughts knows I long to serve it. He who knows all things knows that I would count my life as nothing if I could but save the nation's life. Why are we asked each day, if we are willing to bring this war to a speedy, prompt, and glorious conclusion? Have we less interest, my Radical friend, than you, in the glory of this land? Do you not tell us that for eighty long years we carried on the Government? It was under our Government, with all our faults—but God knows they were numerous enough—with all our weaknesses—and we have occasion to pray each day, "God be merciful to us sinners,"—with all our errors of judgment, and corruption, if you please—we do not claim to be better than you are, we never have; but with all our faults and errors, while we governed this country, it became the most glorious and magnificent the eye of the world ever rested upon. Why is it, then, that we

were more prosperous than you? Not because, as I said before, we are wiser than you, or better than you, but in all humility we were willing to accept the teachings of our fathers, and to follow the beaten path which they trod. We did that which each man of you does in all the ordinary affairs of life, we adhered to those well-tried principles of action to which you adhere when transacting the business of your shops, or your stores, or your commerce. You do not trust a man who indulges in fanciful theories. And if you will not in private affairs, why will you in the Government of the country? Where in any other Government do you find a written Constitution and a judiciary placed above the Congress and above the Legislature to protect the rights of humanity?

Now I want to say what we are going to do. Let me say a word to your higher-law men of the North: You must give up your doctrine and submit yourselves to the laws. You have taught fatal errors, but you have confined yourselves within the limits of legal rights, and for this we respect you, and therefore we shall put you down by the ballot. But we have another class of higher-law men at the South who have also arraigned their will against the laws of the land and its rightful authorities. They have not contented themselves with the ballot, but have chosen the bayonet and bullet to settle the question. Then with the bayonet and bullet we must meet them. We did not want this war, but the men of the South made the bayonet and sword the arbiter of their doctrines, and so far as the present is concerned, the sword must be the arbiter, and by it, with our own strong arms we will strike vigorous blows for the life of the Constitution and the flag. I wish that my voice could be heard throughout every Southern State. I would say, mistake not the conservative triumphs of the North. Listen not to the teachings of those who say we are not true to the Union, true to the Constitution. You know that we are those who battled for the Constitution, including your rights, when they were assailed and denounced. You know that at a time when you were safe within its folds you deserted your country's flag, and you deserted us, too, who had been true to the principles of your Constitution. Read those triumphs aright, and they will tell you they bring into power men who love the Constitution as a tradition; men who inherited it from their fathers. Therefore we tell you and the whole world, that this great conservative party will rear up the shattered columns of the Union. We will rear it higher up, still nearer heaven than it was before, and from its lofty top and growing greatness there shall ever wave your nation's flag, with every star and every stripe that has been placed there in the wonderful progress of our country; and then, whatever other men may say—I care not what—as for the conservative people of this country, and as for myself, other men may say as they please, as for a division of this Union, and for breaking up of that great alliance made by and under God's guidance, I never will consent to it, no never, as long as I have a voice to raise or a hand to fight for this our glorious country.

Mr. Seymour at Utica, N. Y., Nov. 6, 1862.

His Election as Governor—Significance of the Result—Not a Partisan Triumph—It portends a great Revolution—Its Effect upon the World—A Blessing to the whole Country—Democratic purposes—Reiteration of Former Advice to Government and People—Pledges to sustain the Federal Administration—The Democratic Success strengthens the National Credit, insures a successful issue of the War, and averts National Bankruptcy, or Repudiation.

MEN of Onondaga, the county of my birth, and men of Oneida, the county in which I live—I thank you for the home verdicts you have given upon those who have borne false witness against my character and my patriotism. While I was battling for the cause of our country in other parts of New York, I left the defence of my character in your hands, who know me best. In no counties in the State have our political opponents lost so much as in yours.

The victory we have gained is not a partisan triumph. It is won by conservative men heretofore belonging to different organizations. It is a triumph for our country. It embraces in its generous purposes those who have battled against us. The first great cause of our success, that which made the deep under-swell that bore us on to victory, were the letters written by our soldiers from the battle-field, imploring their fathers and their brothers to put down a wild and bloody fanaticism. More clearly than others they saw the errors which brought the present calamities upon our country. The joy which one success will give to Union-loving and patriotic hearts throughout our land, will be most strongly felt among those who are fighting for our flag. We have not only given them new vigor, but we have weakened the rebellion against which they are combating. They now fight for the definite purpose of restoring our Union as it was, and upholding the Constitution as it is. They are now relieved from depressing uncertainties as to the object of the contest, and of the feeling that they were engaged in a vague, blind and indefinite struggle to carry out the theories of visionary fanatics, or of being made the instruments to excite servile insurrections, or of being dragged into a revolting war against the lives of women and children.

The calmness and quiet of this great political revolution will impress the world. The enemies of our country charged that we were becoming a brutal and blood-thirsty people. We now show them that in the midst of a great civil war, against the enormous power and patronage which this war gives to those in office, the citizens of this country, at an election marked by unusual order, have rebuked those who have controlled the policy of Government, because their language has been ferocious and sanguinary, and their conduct not in keeping with the genius of our Constitution. While the action of our people has been calm, it has been prompt and decided. One year ago our opponents swept the country with overwhelming majorities. Now, in every election, from Maine to Minnesota, they are either beaten or their strength so broken down that everywhere they are a defeated party.

It is a source of pride to us that the victory which we have won will prove a blessing to all parties and to our whole country. We shall not retaliate upon those who threatened our persons or invaded our rights. We shall forget words and acts of passion and prejudice long before their authors will forget their own follies or forgive themselves for their assaults on constitutional liberty. We will not submit to acts of tyranny or wrong. Neither will we consent that our political opponents shall lose their rights because they sought to violate ours.

One year ago I spoke to you, my townsmen, upon the condition of public affairs. When I came home from the far West, I found the journals that claimed to speak for the Republican party using terms of contempt and reproach toward the President of the United States. I had opposed his election, but I denounced such language as injurious to the dignity and honor of our people. What I then said in the day of our defeat, I now repeat in the hour of our triumph :

"First, and above all, we are to show obedience to constituted authorities, and devotion and respect for legal and constitutional obligations. We are admonished by Washington—'The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.' The primal sin of disobedience is not only the immediate cause of this war, but its spirit has also sapped and weakened the foundations of our Municipal, State, and National authority in every part of our land. It is the great underlying cause of all our calamities. The spirit of disobedience permeates our social system; it renders law powerless, and strips men of their rights of due protection to their persons and property. Obedience is the basis of all family, religious and political organizations. It is the principle of cohesion that holds society together, without which it crumbles into atoms."

Those radical men who brought this war upon our country by their passions and follies, have now overthrown by their violence the party which gave them influence. Having shaped the policy of the Government by such legislative and executive measures as they demanded, they now turn with angry reproaches upon the President, whose more moderate counsels they spurned, and seek to make him responsible for their political disasters. We shall not take advantage of this factious spirit to embarrass the Administration. We warn these infuriated men, that such language, at all times demoralizing, is dangerous in times of civil war. Although we are politically opposed to Mr. Lincoln, we insist that he shall be treated with the courtesy due to his position, and to the dignity of the American people.

While I thus admonished our people with regard to the duties of obedience, at the same time I pointed out the admonitions of the Father of our Country to those in power. I repeat his solemn warnings:—

"It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those interested with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon the other. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position."

The results of the late election will carry us back to the policy of our fathers. They will give renewed vigor to the principles of the Constitution. Amid all the confusion of this civil war, its solemnities, its

bloodshed, its calamities, our people have by their ballots re-affirmed and re-established the Constitution of the United States, in all its vigor and all its completeness. The war now takes a new phase. We held up to the people of the South not only the penalties of disobedience, but all the blessings and all the advantages of submission to that Constitution. Unyielding and exacting on the one hand in our demands for obedience, we are scrupulous and just in giving every right to those who shall yield to the Government made by our common fathers.

Let not our countrymen, let not the world, mistake the meaning of our triumph. It is the beginning of a political revolution that will again place power in the hands of those who, until the last two years, were able to defeat the enemies of peace, of the Union, of the Constitution. This triumph removes the great obstacle in the way of the restoration of our Union. It teaches the loyal men at the South, who feared that they were unsafe within its limits, that the conservative men at the North are able to put down fanatical agitators and meddling disturbers without the help of a single vote from a Southern State. The doctrine that there is a law higher than the Constitution, which justifies resistance to the statutes of the land, or to rightful authority, has been condemned. Our Government has received new strength. That seditious spirit which prompted Northern Governors to give a conditional obedience to the constitutional demands of Government, has been rebuked. Treasonable efforts to coerce the Executive into a line of policy opposed to his convictions of duty, have been condemned by the public verdict. The President of the United States has been instructed to exercise the full measure of his rightful authority, to uphold the dignity of his office, to restrain other departments within their proper spheres, and then, too, he has been admonished not to go beyond his own rightful jurisdiction. He will receive from us that which he has not had from those who claim to be his peculiar supporters—a cheerful, unconditional obedience to his rightful demands, whether they meet our views of policy or not. At our annual elections we shall again sit in judgment on that policy, and condemn or approve it in the mode pointed out in the Constitution. In the meanwhile he will be saved from those intrigues which have hindered the successful progress of the war. Our armies will now be permitted to gain victories in the vicinity of our capital, as they have heretofore won them in other fields of action. The national credit will be strengthened by greater economy and honesty in the conduct of affairs. It will also be strengthened, because we propose an object for this war that can be attained—the restoration of our Union. All other schemes, which looked to a bloody social revolution, will be abandoned. We can now hope that we are to be saved from the disgrace of national bankruptcy on the one hand, or the still deeper dishonor and demoralization of national repudiation on the other.

To restore our country to its former condition, we are ready to make every sacrifice, not only of men and money, but also of passion and prejudice, for we will not hold our passions and prejudices to be more sacred than the blood and toil of our fellow-citizens in the field of martial conflict.

Governor Seymour's First Annual Message to the Legislature of the State of New York, January 7, 1863.

Condition of Public Affairs—What New York has done—Local Matters—Opinion about the Drafting Laws—National Affairs—Causes of the War—Respect for Laws and Rulers—Necessity of Economy—Limitations of Power—State Rights—Arbitrary Arrests—Rights of People during Civil War—Powers of Government—Martial Law—Violations of the Constitution—Emancipation Proclamation—The Central and Western States—Extremes will not Prevail—Adjustment of Interests—Political Interests, and Necessity of restoring the Union.

TO THE LEGISLATURE:—We meet under circumstances of unusual solemnity to legislate for the honor, for the interest, and for the protection of the people of the State of New York. The oath which we have taken to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of New York, and to perform our duties with fidelity, has at this time especial significance. It teaches us to look upon each of these Constitutions as equally sacred, that each is to be upheld in its respective jurisdiction. At this time, the power of the one is openly defied by armed rebellion, while the other is endangered by the confusion and discord growing out of civil war. This "oath, declaration or test," is not a mere ceremonial; it is a part of the tenure of the offices we hold. Until we have thus solemnly submitted ourselves to the commands of these instruments, giving up our personal views and opinions, and pledging ourselves to obey their requirements, we are not permitted to perform any official act.

To uphold the General Government, New York has sent since the outbreak of this war two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers into the field. To organize this vast army, my predecessor, and those acting under his direction in his military staff, have used unwearied labor and shown high capacity. The duties growing out of this service have been greater than those falling upon the officials of other States, and in their performance compare favorably with the conduct of the war on the part of the General Government. While our soldiers are periling their lives to uphold the Constitution and restore the Union, we owe it to them, who have shown an endurance and patriotism unsurpassed in the history of the world, that we emulate their devotion in our field of duty. We are to take care when they come back that their home rights are not impaired, that they shall not find, when they return to the duties of civil life, that the securities of their persons, the sanctity of their homes, or the protection of their property, have been lost by us, while they were battling for their national interest in a distant field of duty.

I shall deem it my duty to fill all vacancies in official stations in the army by promotion for meritorious services or gallant conduct in the field; this is a measure of justice, as it will give to them the rewards where they have been fairly earned, and will stimulate both officers

and men, by a laudable ambition, to excel in patriotic services in an honorable pursuit.

OUR STATE AFFAIRS.

While so many parts of our country are laid waste by war, their towns and cities desolated, their homes destroyed, their citizens slaughtered, and all that makes social happiness crushed out beneath the tread of armies, we have cause for gratitude that in this State the circle of its munificent public charities is in full and beneficent operation; all forms of infirmities, suffering, and want have been relieved. Our schools, academies, and colleges are in successful operation; institutions designed to rescue the young and helpless from careers of vice, are still engaged in the prevention of misery and crime. Our prisons, under a liberal system designed to reform as well as punish, still protect our community against convicted criminals. Our courts are open for the security and protection of persons and property. Mechanical and agricultural pursuits are in the main successfully conducted. Our vast internal and foreign commerce has assumed proportions far beyond that of any former period. But for the overshadowing, gloomy cloud of war, and its heavy drafts upon the blood and treasure of our citizens, there could not be found four millions of people in the enjoyment of greater happiness and prosperity. * * * *

[Here follows a statement of the condition of the finances, canals, charities, and other matters pertaining exclusively to the State of New York.]

I urge your immediate attention to the inequality and injustice of the laws under which it is proposed to draft soldiers for the service of the General Government; during a long period of peace, but little attention has been paid to our military system. For the purposes of a conscription it is entirely defective; it contains none of the provisions which in the European systems mitigate the evils of compulsory military service; it pays no just regard, on one hand, to the evils which it may inflict, while on the other it makes numerous exemptions which are inconsistent with fairness and with the spirit of our Constitution. That contemplates that all of suitable ages alike shall perform military duty or pay some equivalent. This purpose is fully expressed by the first Constitution of our State:

"It is of the utmost importance to the safety of every State that it should always be in a condition of defence; and it is the duty of every man who enjoys the protection of society to be prepared and willing to defend it."

The present Constitution has a provision to the same effect. Not only the organic law of our State, but justice demands that every man who enjoys the protection of society should be prepared to defend it. Recent legislation on this subject has departed widely from this principle; no conditions have been prescribed upon which those who have scruples of conscience should be excused from bearing arms. Exemptions have been multiplied until large classes are not only relieved from military duty, but also from giving any equivalent for such relief. They include numerous officials and other classes who have no claims to exemption beyond those which belong to every citizen engaged in useful pursuits.

These favored classes are usually in a better condition to give an

equivalent than the mass of those upon whom these liabilities now fall. There should be no such unjust distinctions; all male citizens of suitable years should be equally liable; if those who are unfit to perform duty are drawn, they should pay such sum as shall be deemed just by suitable tribunals. If they are unable to pay, the amount can be remitted, or, like firemen, they might render an equivalent in an equally honorable branch of the public service. If the lot falls on officials they can procure substitutes, or pay such commutations as may be prescribed by law.

It is glaringly unjust to allow those enjoying the honors and profits of official station to go free of all liabilities, while the only son of the widow, or the sole support of the family, may be forced upon a distant and dangerous service. I also commend to your attention such other provisions as exist in European countries to mitigate the evils which a forced conscription involves, and which have been suggested by experience in their long and frequent wars.

The military system adopted at the last session of the Legislature, cannot be perfected in time to meet the probable calls made by the General Government; an attempt to make a draft upon the present enrollment has been found to involve difficulties and danger of the most serious character, and as such draft has therefore been necessarily postponed, this subject demands your immediate attention.

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[An allusion to the soldiers of the war of 1812 is omitted.]

NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

The Constitution makes it my duty to communicate to you the condition of the State. I cannot do this without speaking of our Union and of the war which afflicts our country, and which also affects the extended commerce of New York; taxes all its pursuits; has taken more than 200,000 men from our workshops and fields; and has carried mourning into the homes of our citizens. The genius of our Government, and the interests of our people, demand that the aspects of this war should be discussed with entire freedom. Not only is the national life at stake, but every personal, every family, every sacred interest is involved. We must grapple with the great questions of the day; we must confront the dangers of our position. The truths of our financial and military situation must not be kept back. There must be no attempt to put down the full expression of public opinion. It must be known and heeded, to enable Government to manage public affairs with success. There is a yearning desire among our people to learn their actual condition. They demand free discussion. This should be conducted in an earnest, thoughtful, patriotic spirit. The solemnity of the occasion, and the sufferings of the war, should reanimate the virtue, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the American people. The decay of these has brought our calamities upon us. There are now no causes for discord that have not always existed in our country, and which were not felt by our fathers in forming the Union. They had the greatness, the magnanimity and virtue to compromise and adjust them. The value of the Union they then formed has proved to be greater than they hoped.

Yet we became indifferent to it when we were in the full enjoyment

of its blessings. We became forgetful of the character and resources of our own countrymen, while we had the full benefit of an untrammelled commerce with all sections of our land. It was when the world was astonished with the power and wealth growing out of our National Union, that sectional prejudices and passions were active in destroying fraternal affections and generous love of our country. While we boasted most of our intelligence, there were those persistently and laboriously engaged, through the press, and in legislative halls, in teaching the people of the North and the South to undervalue and despise each other. Hostile legislation and the division of our churches impaired religious and social intercourse. If the North and the South had understood the power and purposes of each other, our contentions would have been adjusted. This misapprehension, so bloody and terrible in its effects, was systematically and laboriously inculcated.

CAUSES OF THE WAR.

Affrighted at the ruin they have wrought, the authors of our calamities at the North and South insist that this war was caused by an unavoidable contest about slavery. This has been the subject, not the cause of controversy. We are to look for the causes of this war in a pervading disregard of the obligations of laws and constitutions; in disrespect for constituted authorities; and, above all, in the local prejudices which have grown up in two portions of the Atlantic States, the two extremes of our country, whose remote positions have made them less well-informed, and whose interests have made them less considerate, with regard to the condition and character of our whole people, than those living in the great central and western sections of our Union. There is no honest statement of our difficulties which does not teach that our people must reform themselves, as well as the conduct of the Government and the policy of our rulers. There is not a calamity we are suffering which was not clearly foretold by our fathers, as the result of the passions and local prejudices that have grown up during the past fifteen years.

It is not too late to save our country if we will enter upon the sacred duty in the right spirit and in the right way. When we do so, the effect will be seen and felt throughout our land and by the civilized world. We shall then strengthen our Government; we shall weaken the rebellion; we shall unite our people; and the world will recognize our capacity for self-government, when we show that we are capable of self-reform.

RESPECT FOR LAWS AND RULERS.

In the first place, we must emulate the conduct of our fathers, and show obedience to constituted authorities, and respect for legal and constitutional obligations. "The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government." Yet a spirit of disobedience has sapped the foundations of Municipal, State, and National authority in every part of our land. It is not only the underlying

and pervading cause of the war; it is also the immediate occasion of our calamities.

When the leaders of the insurrection at the extreme South say that free and slave States cannot exist together in the Union, and when this is echoed from the extreme North by the enemies of our Constitution, both parties say they cannot, simply because they will not, respect the laws and the Constitution. This spirit of disloyalty must be put down. It is inconsistent with all social order and social security; with safety of persons and property.

In order to uphold our Government, it is also necessary that we should show respect to the authority of our rulers. While acting within the limits of their jurisdictions, and representing the interests, the honor, and the dignity of our people, they are entitled to deference. Where it is their right to decide upon measures and policy, it is our duty to obey, and to give a ready support to their decisions. This is a vital maxim of liberty. Without this loyalty no government can conduct public affairs with success, no people can be safe in the enjoyment of their rights. This duty is peculiarly strong under our system, which gives the people the right at their elections to sit in judgment upon their rulers, to commend or condemn them, to keep them in, or expel them from official stations.

This war should have been averted; but when its floodgates were opened, the Administration could not grasp its dimensions nor control its sweep. Government was borne along by the current, and struggled as it best could with the resistless tide. Few seemed able to comprehend its military or financial problems. Hence we are not to sit in harsh judgment upon errors in conduct or policy. But while we concede all these excuses for mistakes, we are not to adopt errors, nor sanction violations of principle. The same causes which extenuate their faults in judgment, must make us more vigilant to guard against their influences. Unusual dangers demand unusual vigilance.

ECONOMY AND INTEGRITY.

Economy and integrity in the administration of affairs are essential at all times; they are vital in periods of war. If the power of the people to sustain the expenses of war is broken down, it is vain that we have sent our citizens into the field, and that they have shed their blood in unsupported efforts to save our country.

The opportunities which a state of war gives to unprincipled men to prey upon the public treasury, and the difficulty of checking their schemes, must be borne in mind, when we judge the integrity of our rulers. But while these difficulties should shield them from harsh judgment, they are additional reasons for vigilance and caution. It is in the nature of war to create powerful financial and ambitious interests, eager to prolong its duration. It is one of its chief dangers that it builds up an active class who gain power and wealth by the taxation imposed upon the labor and property of the mass of citizens. This organized class use the National treasury to support schemes of plunder or ambition, and the taxes wrung from the people are thus made to prolong the state of war and military government. The

power of our rulers to avert these influences must be aided and strengthened by the most ample exposition of financial affairs.

Extravagance and corruption are violations of the faith pledged to the public creditors. The money loaned to the National treasury was not brought forward at a time of peace and confidence, but in a time of doubt and danger. These claims are held by the rich and poor. The amounts owned by corporations represent the interests of women and children, the aged and infirm. The right of our soldiers to demand economy and integrity is of the most sacred character. Never in the history of the world have armies of such numbers been made up of those who voluntarily left prosperous pursuits and happy homes to suffer the dangers and privations of war. When defeat or destruction of life by violence or disease thinned the ranks of our armies, they promptly and freely stepped forward to the rescue of the country's flag. A fearful crime will be done by those who shall suffer National bankruptcy to turn into dust and ashes the pensions and bounties thus gained at the cost of blood and health and exposure. These pensions will, in many cases, be the sole reliance of those thus made incapable of self-support.

It is worse that a government should be overturned by corruption than by violence. A virtuous people will regain their rights if torn from them, but there is no hope for those who suffer corruption to sap and rot away the fabric of their freedom.

LIMITATIONS OF POWER.

There are not only obligations resting upon our people toward our authorities, but under our political system, there are limitations between the departments of the Government, and between the State and National Governments, which must be observed to secure the public safety. At this time these warning words of Washington have peculiar significance :—

"It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those interested with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres ; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon the others. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position."

The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial departments are co-ordinate. It is equally treasonable to resist the rightful authority of either. To overthrow the power of either department is revolution. Legislative right, Executive power, and Judicial independence are alike sacred. Disregard for the limits of State and National jurisdictions, and the interference of one department with the duties of another, are not only opposed to the genius and organic structure of our civil Government, but they have caused disasters in the conduct of the war.

While the War Department sets aside the authority of the Judiciary, and overrides the laws of States, the Governors of States meet to shape the policy of the General Government, the National Legislature

appoints committees to interfere with the military conduct of the war, and senators combine to dictate the Executive choice of constitutional advisers. The natural results of meddling and intrigue have followed. While our armies have gained victories in fields remote from the capital, within its influence the heroic valor of our soldiers, and the skill of our generals, are thwarted and paralyzed.

STATE RIGHTS.

Not only must the National Constitution be held inviolate, but the rights of States must be respected as not less sacred. There are differences of opinion as to the dividing line between State and National jurisdictions, but there can be none as to the existence of such separate jurisdictions, each covering subjects of legislation and jurisprudence essential to the public security and welfare. A consolidated government in this vast country would destroy the essential home-rights and liberties of the people. The sovereignties of the States, except as they are limited by the Constitution, can never be given up. Without them our Government cannot stand. It was made and it can be changed by State agency. This is shown by the following provisions of the instrument itself:

"The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient to the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

Again, three-fourths of the States can add to or take away from the powers of the General Government, by demanding a convention in which amendments can be proposed, which, if ratified by three-fourths of the States, become parts of the Constitution.

While they can thus take away or add to its power, the General Government can in no way touch one right of the States, or invade their jurisdiction.

The obligations which rest upon the States to respect the Constitution, laws, and authorities of the General Government, also demand that the General Government shall show equal respect for the rights and constituted authorities of States.

To State legislation and authorities, we look for the good order of society, the security of life and property, the protection of our homes, and all that is nearest and dearest to us, in the relations, duties, and actions of life. It is dangerous and demoralizing to show contempt for State authorities and laws. It undermines alike the foundations of State and National Government by breaking up the social system. If home laws are not respected, the more general authority will not be regarded.

ARBITRARY ARRESTS.

Our people have, therefore, viewed with alarm, practices and pretensions on the part of officials, which violate every principle of good order, of civil liberty, and of constitutional law. It is claimed that in time of war the President has powers, as Commander-in-chief of our armies, which authorize him to declare martial law, not only within the sphere of hostile movements, where other law cannot be enforced,

but also over our whole land. That at his pleasure he can disregard not only the statutes of Congress, but the decisions of the National judiciary. That in loyal States the least intelligent class of officials may be clothed with power not only to act as spies and informers, but, also, without due process of law, to seize and imprison our citizens, and carry them beyond the limits of the State, to hold them in prison without a hearing or a knowledge of the offences with which they are charged. Not only the passions and prejudices of these inferior agents lead them to acts of tyranny, but their interests are advanced and their position secured by promoting discontent and discord. Even to ask the aid of counsel has been held to be an offence. It has been well said that "to be arrested for one knows not what; to be confined, no one entitled to ask where; to be tried, no one can say when, by a law nowhere known or established; or to linger out life in a cell without trial, presents a body of tyranny which cannot be enlarged."

The suppression of journals and the imprisonment of persons have been glaringly partisan, allowing to some the utmost licentiousness of criticism, and punishing others for a fair exercise of the right of discussion. Conscious of these gross abuses, an attempt has been made to shield the violators of law and suppress inquiry into their motives and conduct. This attempt will fail. Unconstitutional acts cannot be shielded by unconstitutional laws. Such attempts will not save the guilty, while they will bring a just condemnation upon those who try to pervert the powers of legislation to the purposes of oppression. To justify such action by precedents drawn from the practice of governments where there is no restraint upon legislative power, will be of no avail under our system, which restrains the Government and protects the citizen by written constitutions.

I shall not inquire what rights States in rebellion have forfeited, but I deny that this rebellion can suspend a single right of the citizens of loyal States. I denounce the doctrine that civil war in the South takes away from the loyal North the benefits of one principle of civil liberty.

It is a high crime to abduct a citizen of this State. It is made my duty by the Constitution to see that the laws are enforced. I shall investigate every alleged violation of our statutes, and see that offenders are brought to justice. Sheriffs and district attorneys are admonished that it is their duty to take care that no person within their respective counties is imprisoned, or carried by force beyond their limits, without due process of legal authority. The removal to England of persons charged with offence, away from their friends, their witnesses, and means of defence, was one of the acts of tyranny for which we asserted our independence. The abduction of citizens from this State, for offences charged to have been done here, and carrying them many hundreds of miles to distant prisons in other States or Territories, is an outrage of the same character upon every principle of right and justice.

The General Government has ample powers to establish courts, to appoint officers to arrest, and commissioners to hear complaints, and to imprison upon reasonable grounds of suspicion. It has a judicial system in full and undisturbed operation. Its own courts, held at convenient points in this and other loyal States, are open for the hear-

ing of all complaints. If its laws are not ample for the punishment of offences, it is due to the neglect of those in power.

Government is not strengthened by the exercise of doubtful powers, but by a wise and energetic exertion of those which are incontestable. The former course never fails to produce discord, suspicion, and distrust, while the latter inspires respect and confidence.

This loyal State, whose laws, whose courts, and whose officers have thus been treated with marked and public contempt, and whose social order and sacred rights have been violated, was at the very time sending forth great armies to protect the National Capital, and to save the national officials from flight or capture. It was while the arms of New York thus sheltered them against rebellion, that, without consultation with its chief magistrate, a subordinate department at Washington insulted our people and invaded our rights. Against these wrongs and outrages the people of the State of New York, at its late election, solemnly protested.

The submission of our people to these abuses, for a time only, was mistaken at home and abroad for an indifference to their liberties. But it was only in a spirit of respect for our institutions, that they waited until they could express their will in the manner pointed out by our laws. At the late election they vindicated at once their regard for law and their love of liberty. Amidst all the confusion of civil war, they calmly sat in judgment upon the Administration, voting against its candidates. Nor was this the only striking proof of respect for the Constitution. The minority, of nearly equal numbers, yielded to this decision without resistance, although the canvass was animated by strong partisan excitements. This calm assertion of rights, and this honorable submission to the verdict of the ballot-box, vindicated at once the character of our people and the stability of our institutions. Had the Secessionists of the South thus yielded to constitutional decisions, they would have saved themselves and our country from the horrors of this war, and they would have found the same remedy for every wrong and danger.

MARTIAL LAW.

The claim of power under martial law is not only destructive of the right of States, but it overthrows the legislative and judicial departments of the General Government. It asserts for the President more power as the head of the army than as a representative ruler of the people. This claim has brought discredit upon us in the eyes of the world. It has strengthened the hopes of rebellion. It has weakened the confidence of loyal States. It tends to destroy the value of our Government in the minds of our people. It leads to discord and discontent at the North, while it has united and invigorated the South.

If there is a necessity which justifies that policy, let us openly and honestly say there is a necessity which justifies a revolution. But this pretension is not put forth as a necessity which overleaps for a time all restraints, and which is justified by a great exigency; it is a theory which exalts the military power of the President above his civil and constitutional rights. It asserts that he may, in his discretion, declare

war, and then extinguish the State and National constitutions by drawing the pall of martial law over our vast country.

"Martial law" defines itself to be a law where war is. It limits its own jurisdiction by its very term. But this new and strange doctrine holds that the loyal North lost their constitutional rights when the South rebelled, and all are now governed by a military dictation. Loyalty is thus less secure than rebellion, for it stands without means to resist outrages or resent tyranny. Amidst all the horrors that have been enacted under martial law in the history of the world, and amidst all the justifications attempted of its usages, it was never before held that it could be extended over peaceful States. It was never before claimed that the power of a military commander was superior to the powers of government.

More than two centuries since, that bold defender of English liberty, that honest and independent judge, Lord Coke, declared: "Where courts of law are open, martial law cannot be executed," and also that "the power that is above the law, is unfit for the King to ask or us to grant." Are English laws more sacred, or is English liberty more secure than ours?

It was one of the causes set forth in the Declaration of Independence, for renouncing allegiance to the King of England, "that he has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil power." During the struggle for National life, although surrounded by enemies, spies, and informers, who upheld the pretensions of the crown, Washington never declared martial law, or claimed the right, under any circumstances, to make the military superior to the civil authority. On the contrary, he was most deferential to the latter. The feeling of the fathers on this subject can best be learned by the Constitutions, which were formed by the men who established our National Government; all of them had provisions inconsistent with this new and monstrous pretension.

Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina and South Carolina, eight of the twelve States which originally made up our Union, explicitly declared that the military power should, in all cases and at all times, be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it; this was expressed in each Constitution, in terms almost identical. It is incredible that a people who held these views, and who were jealous of their liberties, and who thus restrained State authorities under their immediate control, would give to the commander of the army of the United States this despotic power; a power which the crown of Great Britain has not been permitted to exercise for nearly two centuries.

The measure of power to be exercised under our Government is fixed by the Constitution. To make the maxims of other governments or the usages of other nations the rule here, would give sanction to every outrage, tyranny, and wrong. It would undo what was done by our fathers who formed our Government; it makes the practices of despotism or the principles of monarchy higher authorities than the written Constitution of our Republic. The unlimited, uncontrolled despotic power claimed under martial law is of itself a reason why it cannot be admitted. The fact that it is inconsistent with the purposes, spirit, and genius of our institutions, is conclusive

against the claim set up for its control over an extent of country and a diversity of interests which never existed in the despotisms or monarchical governments from which the precedents are drawn to justify it.

New York and other States consented to make up the General Government only upon the assurance that the original Constitution should be so amended as to secure more perfectly the rights of States and citizens. These articles were added by the unanimous vote of the States:

ARTICLE 4.—“The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. And no warrant shall issue but upon probable causes, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized.”

ARTICLE 5.—“No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; * * * nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.”

The want of these restraints in the original instrument endangered its adoption. They were inserted to satisfy the public demand. We are now told that they are of no avail, in any part of our country, when the Executive shall see fit to declare there is war or insurrection in any section of this land.

Such pretensions are in contradiction to the plain language of these clauses, and to their settled legal effect. If any differences of construction be possible, our Constitution provides for their determination. These questions will be carried before the proper judicial tribunals. If the theory of martial law is upheld by them, we will submit, and have the Constitution amended. If it is held to be unfounded, it must be given up.

So sacred did our fathers hold constitutional rights, that they placed them beyond the reach even of the majority of our people. Written constitutions are made not only to carry out the wishes, but also to restrain the power of majorities, and to uphold and protect the rights of minorities. They give the humblest citizen the right of religious freedom against the whole power of our people. No matter how large a majority may be, it must not interfere with rights of persons, of property, or of conscience.

The President himself holds his place not by the will of the majority, but by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution, which placed him in his office by the votes of about 1,800,000, against the votes of about 2,800,000, who did not agree among themselves as to opposing candidates. He continues rightfully to hold his office, although the popular majorities, even in the State which placed him there, have, in the recent elections, declared themselves politically opposed to his Administration. The majority are still bound to respect his constitutional rights, to uphold his powers, and to sustain his acts done within the limits of lawful authority.

The rights of States were reserved, and the powers of the General Government were limited, to protect the people in their persons, property, and consciences, in times of danger and civil commotion. There is little to fear in periods of peace and prosperity. If we are not protected when there are popular excitements and convulsions, our Government is a failure. If presidential proclamations are above the decisions of the courts and the restraints of the Constitution, then that

Constitution is a mockery. If it has not the authority to keep the Executive within its restraints, then it cannot retain States within the Union. Those who hold that there is no sanctity in the Constitution, must equally hold that there is no guilt in the rebellion.

We cannot be silent and allow these practices to become precedents. They are as much in violation of our Constitution as the rebellion itself, and more dangerous to our liberties. They hold out to the Executive every temptation of ambition to make and prolong war. They offer despotic power as a price for preventing peace. They are inducements to each administration to produce discord and incite armed resistance to law, by declaring that the condition of war removes all constitutional restraints. They call about the National capital hordes of unprincipled men, who find in the wreck of their country the opportunity to gratify avarice or ambition, or personal or political resentments. This theory makes the passion and ambition of an administration antagonistic to the interest and happiness of the people. It makes the restoration of peace the abdication of more than regal authority in the hands of those to whom is confided the Government of our country.

Of the same nature is the recent proclamation of general emancipation in certain States and districts. The President had already signed an act of Congress, which asserts that the slaves of those in rebellion are confiscate. The sole effect of this proclamation, therefore, is to declare the emancipation of slaves of those who are not in rebellion, and who are, therefore, loyal citizens. It is an extraordinary deduction from the alleged war power, that the forfeiture of the right of loyal citizens, and bringing upon them the same punishment imposed upon insurgents, is calculated to advance the success of the war, to uphold the Constitution, and restore the Union. The class of loyal citizens who, above all others, are entitled to the protection of the Government, are those who, in the region of the civil war, have remained true to the flag of our country. And yet the sole force of this proclamation is directed against them. May not this measure, so clearly impolitic, unjust and unconstitutional, and which is calculated to create so many barriers to the restoration of the Union, be misconstrued by the world as an abandonment of the hope or the purpose of restoring it—a result to which the State of New York is unalterably opposed, and which will be effectually resisted.

We must not only support the Constitution of the United States and maintain the rights of the States, but we must restore our Union as it was before the outbreak of the war. The assertion that this war was the unavoidable result of slavery is not only erroneous, but it has led to a disastrous policy in its prosecution. The opinion that slavery must be abolished to restore our Union, creates an antagonism between the free and slave States which ought not to exist. If it is true that slavery must be abolished by the force of the Federal Government; that the South must be held in military subjection; that four millions of negroes must for many years be under the direct management of authorities at Washington at the public expense; then, indeed, we must endure the waste of our armies in the field, further drains upon our population, and still greater burdens of debt. We must convert our Government into a military despotism. The mischievous opinion that in this contest the North must subjugate

and destroy the South to save our Union, has weakened the hopes of our citizens at home, and destroyed confidence in our success abroad.

THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN STATES.

It is a suggestive fact, affording instruction and hope for the future, that the theories which have exercised an evil influence on our National politics, did not originate in what may be called the heart of the Union, among the intimate and well acquainted populations of the Central and Western States, where the States permitting and forbidding slavery are in actual contact, nor in the portions traversed by the great east and west lines of commerce and intercourse. They have been developed almost entirely in two sections comparatively isolated by position, traditions, and peculiar habits of thought, and least connected with the more homogenous mass of our people. There have been extreme Northern views and extreme Southern views; but also the broader and more tolerant views of the more populous Central and Western States. These extend on both sides of that indenturing boundary between "slave" and "free" States, which is not a line of opposing opinions, but of intermingling interests. Their plains are interlocked by confluent rivers, and not divided by mountain ranges. These States are a region of harmonizing views and sympathies. They are not only bound together by peculiar interests, but also by strong reasons for resisting a division on that boundary, which would make them frontier States, which would replace their cordial intercourse by hostile relationships, and throw upon them all the greatest and sharpest evils of the separation. Thus, while they do not share the passions and prejudices of those extreme States which strove to enlist them in the contest, they have motives of the highest interest to restore the old order of things, and of the gravest apprehension from a separation. This war blights and destroys the hopes and the happiness of this region, while the sections whose passions and interests kindled it are mainly remote from the terrible suffering it has caused.

The Western and Central States enlisted warmly in a war for the Union and Constitution. The northern tier of "slave States" (except Eastern Virginia) earnestly supported the Government in its policy while it was consistent with this purpose, which was known as the "border State policy." Both the Administration and Congress then declared their sole purpose to be to restore the Union and maintain the Constitution. When the Administration abandoned this policy, and took up the views of extreme Northern States, it lost, at the late election, nearly all the political support which the Central and Western States afforded in the elections of 1860 and 1861.

While the North cannot hold the Southern States in subjection without destroying the principles of our Government, the great Central and Western States can control the two extremes. They will not accept the views of either as safe guides in the conduct of public affairs. This is shown by the political history of our country during the past four years. When it was believed that the late Administration was controlled by the views of the Gulf States, it lost its power in the Central and Western region. The opposing party, to gain public support, were obliged, by assurances and resolutions, to repel

the charge that they would interfere with slavery in the States, and they denounced, as unjust, the imputation that they held the views of the Abolitionists of the extreme Northern section. Without these pledges, they could not have gained political power.

When the Gulf States seceded, the central slave States, by large majorities, refused to act with them. They sought to avoid war and division by the peace conference held in Washington. Unfortunately, the dominant leaders of the party which had succeeded at the election of 1860, overlooking the fact that this was done by the vote of 1,800,000 against a divided opposition of about 2,800,000, rejected all terms of compromise and conciliation as inconsistent with the results of the election, and attempt to govern and control an agitated and convulsed country strictly by the opinions and sentiments of a minority.

The outbreak of war involved our whole country in its excitements. The States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the western part of Virginia, adhered to the Union. The purpose then avowed by the Administration and asserted by Congress, as to the objects of the war, gave to the Administration overwhelming majorities at the election of 1861, in all the loyal States. All engaged hopefully and unitedly in the work of upholding our Constitution, and of restoring our Union to its former condition. When this policy was changed, and it adopted the sentiments of the extreme Northern States, and discarded those of the Central and Western States, a remarkable political revolution was the result.

EXTREMES WILL NOT PREVAIL.

It has been assumed that this war will end in the ascendancy of the views of one or the other of the extremes of our country. Neither will prevail; for neither can command the support of the majority of the American people. The great Central and Western States, which have the largest share of the population and resources of our country, will not accept of either class of purposes. This is the significance of the late elections. Their determination is to defend the rights of States, and the rights of individuals, and to restore our Union as it was. It will be restored by the Central and Western States, both free and slave, who are exempt from the violent passions which bear control at the extremes. It is a fact full of hope that the prejudices between Northern and Southern States are not held on the line of contact, but in the sections most remote from each other, and separated by the great controlling regions and resources of the country. Those of the central Slave states which rejected the ordinance of secession, which sought to remain in the Union, and which were driven off by a contemptuous, uncompromising policy, must be brought back. The restoration of the whole Union will then be only the work of time, with such exertion of power as can be put forth without needlessly sacrificing the life and treasure of the North in a bloody and calamitous contest. We must not wear out the lives of our soldiers, nor exhaust the earnings of labor, by a war for uncertain ends, or to carry out vague theories. The policy of subjugation and extermination means, not only the destruction of the lives and property of the South, but also the waste of the blood and treasure of the North. The exertion of armed power must be accompanied by a

firm and conciliatory policy, to restore our Union with the least possible injury to either section.

To make this Union, New York gave up a vast and rightful political power in the Senate. It has proved a greater blessing than the most hopeful expected. To save it we have made great sacrifices of blood and treasure. Is it not also worth a sacrifice of passion? Shall we let it be torn to fragments without one conciliatory effort to preserve it?

ADJUSTMENT OF INTERESTS, ETC.

Those at the North and the South who have been laboring to break down our National Constitution and Union, and to make two confederacies, overlook the fact that in each of these it would be more difficult to adjust conflicting interests, and State representation, than in our existing Union. The vast extent of our country, and its varied productions and pursuits, have relieved antagonism between commercial, manufacturing and agricultural interests. They give to each great fields for prosperous pursuits. If the producing States of the West are cut off from the markets of the South, they will demand a free trade policy which will open to them the markets of the world; and even these will not make good the loss. They will not give up their peculiar advantages of raising grain and cattle for other pursuits, and the markets of the Eastern States and Europe are not equal to western productions. The past two years have shown this. With an unusual European call for breadstuffs and provisions, with a vast consumption of these articles by our American armies, there is a great section of the West where the prices do not pay for their production. There is bankruptcy and financial distress in the midst of abundant harvests; and a waste of ungathered grain, at a time of the largest exportation of agricultural products known in the history of our country. Reducing the cost of carrying these products will not cure this trouble. Opening the Mississippi, as a way to the markets of the world, will not overcome this evil.

The cotton raised on the Mississippi is the joint product of the provisions of the North and the labor of the South. The people of the West must have the markets of the Southwestern States to bring back their prosperity. They must be reunited, politically, socially, and commercially, to the valley of the Lower Mississippi. Their grain and provisions must be converted into cotton, and in this form carried profitably to the Eastern and European ports. When they have thus gained the returns for their labor, they will once more become the supporters of our commerce. To restore this great region to its former prosperity, and to regain for ourselves its enriching trade, the lower valley of the Mississippi must be brought back into the Union; it must be brought back, too, with all the elements of production and wealth unimpaired, with all the advantages of local self-government; not a devastated and ruined territory, under a blighting, debasing military control.

So closely are the upper and the lower valleys of the Mississippi bound together by interest, that when cotton is burned in Louisiana, Indian corn is used as fuel in Illinois. The ruin of the Southern consumer brings bankruptcy upon the Northern producer. When the capacity of the one to buy is annihilated, the ability of the other to produce is weakened or destroyed. This single instance, from many equally

strong, shows that neither in a Northern or Southern Union can the conflicting interest of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures be adjusted.

POLITICAL INTERESTS, ETC.

The division of our Union into two or more confederacies would re-open in each those questions of distribution of power and relationship between States, which were settled by our National Constitution. Even now, the centralization of power and patronage at the National capital causes uneasiness in those States which now are, or will soon become, the most populous. The Senate can prevent the passage or repeal of laws by the House, which represents the popular will, and, at the same time, can control the power of the Executive by rejecting treaties formed or nominations made by the President. At this time, it assumes to dictate the organization of the Executive Department. This body, also, has the advantage of longer tenure of office, while it is further removed from popular control. It is in this powerful branch of government that States have an equal representation, without regard to population.

Even under our present Union, it is for the interest of the small States to centralize power in the National Government, as they enjoy a disproportionate control in the most influential branch of that Government. All now acquiesce in that compromise of the Constitution. It is the best adjustment which can be made between the larger and smaller States.

So long as all the States of our present Union were represented in Congress, this tendency was checked by the existence of States with small populations distributed in different sections of our country, and somewhat equally among the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing regions. Hitherto, no injurious or irritating results have been caused. A division of the Union, or the disfranchisement of the Southern States by putting them back into the condition of mere territories, or a representation dictated by the military power of Government, would make inevitable a re-adjustment of political power. If the Southern States are cut off or disfranchised, every map of our country will constantly suggest this to the public mind. In the Northern Union, the group of six small New England States, with New Jersey and Delaware lying on the Atlantic coast, far removed from the central and western sections of our country, with united populations only about equal to that of this State, would balance, in the controlling branch of the National Legislature, the great producing States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. In a few years, each of these States will have populations greater than that of all New England. This disparity of political power would be increased by the fact that the population and pursuits of New England, confined within very limited boundaries, have the uniformity of one community, while the larger States have diversified and distinctive pursuits to prevent them from acting so readily in concert.

The danger of controversy would be increased by our vast National debt. This mainly held by a few Atlantic States, divides our country into the perilous sectional relations of debtor and creditor regions. The ownership of this debt cannot be diffused over our country so

that the same communities which pay taxes will receive incomes. The incidental advantages of protective tariffs growing out of this debt, would be largely gained by the creditor States, which also enjoy this disproportionate share of political power. The great producing States would be compelled to pay a heavy taxation to other communities at a time when the division of our Union would deprive them of their most profitable markets; and heavy duties would tend to diminish the demands of foreign countries for their productions. No one can look forward to such agitations and discussions without the deepest concern.

The smaller States, grouped upon the shores of the Atlantic, were all original parties to the Constitution. They are gloriously associated with the history of the Revolutionary struggle. They bear names that are honored, and have memories that are cherished in every part of the land. They must not, through the folly of blind and bigoted leaders, lose the great special political powers which are given to them by the compromises of the Constitution. They must not suffer that instrument, which secures to them peculiar advantages, to be weakened or destroyed.

THE UNION MUST BE RESTORED.

There is but one way to save us from demoralization, discord, and repudiation. Our Union must be restored, complete in all its parts. No section must be disorganized beyond the unavoidable necessities of war. All must be made to feel that the mighty efforts we are making to save our Union are stimulated by a purpose to restore peace, prosperity, and happiness to every section.

The vigor of war will be increased when the public mind and energies are concentrated upon the patriotic, generous purpose to restore our Union for the common good of all sections. It cannot be so united upon any bloody, any barbarous, any revolutionary, or any unconstitutional scheme, looking merely to the gratification of hatred, or purposes of party ambition, or sectional advantage. Every exertion of power, every influence of persuasion, every measure of reconciliation, must be used to restore this Union to its former condition. Let no one demand that the blood of his neighbor shall be shed; that the fruits of the labor of our citizens shall be eaten up by taxation, to gain this end, and then refuse to give up his own passions, or to modify his own opinions, to save our country and to stop the fearful waste we are now making of treasure and of life. Let no one think that the people who have refused to yield this Union to rebellion at the South will permit its restoration to be prevented by fanaticism at the North.

CONCLUSION.

The pervading sentiment of the great controlling sections of our country will not only save our Union, but it will do so in a way harmonizing with the genius of our institutions, the usages of our people, and the letter and spirit of our Constitution. It will manifest itself in the customary manner by discussion and political action. The framers of our Constitution, foreseeing that events would render it necessary for the people of the several States, not only thus to address our Gov-

ernment, but also to produce a concert of purpose and action between different communities, provided in the Constitution, that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Our present alarming condition naturally calls for such expressions of public opinion with respect to the objects of this war, and the spirit in which it should be conducted, and the end for which it should be waged: when the public will is clearly expressed it must be recognized and respected by Government. It will also make itself effective in our frequently-recurring elections, which peaceably but rapidly form a body of Government in harmony with its purposes. It will influence Congressional action, or it may lead to a convention of the States.

The condition of our country is not hopeless, unless it is made so by passions and prejudices which are inconsistent with the government of a great country. This war, with all its evils, has taught us great truths, which if accepted by our people will place the future relations of the various sections of our Union on the firmest basis. It has made us know the value of the Union itself, not only in our internal but in our foreign relations. It has given us a wisdom and knowledge of each other, which, had we possessed earlier, would have averted our present calamities.

If the interests of different sections of our country are conflicting in some respects, they are so balanced and adjusted by nature, that there is an irrepressible tendency to intercourse, harmony, and Union. This tendency must, in the end, overcome mutual misapprehension. We have also learned the great mutual strength of the North and of the South, and amid all the bitterness of feeling engendered by the war, each section has been taught to respect the power, resources, and courage of the other.

We must accept the condition of affairs as they stand. At this moment the fortunes of our country are influenced by the results of battles. Our armies in the field must be supported; all constitutional demands of our General Government must be promptly responded to.

But war alone will not save the Union. The rule of action which is used to put down an ordinary insurrection is not applicable to a widespread armed resistance of great communities. It is weakness and folly to shut our eyes to this truth.

Under no circumstances can the division of the Union be conceded. We will put forth every exertion of power; we will use every policy of conciliation; we will hold out every inducement to the people of the South, to return to their allegiance, consistent with honor; we will guarantee them every right, every consideration demanded by the Constitution, and by that fraternal regard which must prevail in a common country; but we can never voluntarily consent to the breaking up of the Union of these States, or the destruction of the Constitution.

Humbly acknowledging our dependence upon Almighty God, and repenting our pride, ingratitude, and disobedience, let us pray that our minds may be inspired with the wisdom, the magnanimity, the faith and charity, which will enable us to save our country.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Governor Seymour and the Soldiers.

Special Message to the Legislature in regard to allowing the Soldiers to Vote.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, April 13, 1863. }

TO THE LEGISLATURE:—The question of a method by which those of our fellow-citizens who are absent in the military and naval service of the nation may be enabled to enjoy their rights of suffrage, is one of great interest to the people of this State, and has justly excited their attention. I do not doubt that the members of the Legislature participate in the general desire, that those who so nobly endure fatigue and suffering, and peril life in the hope that, by such sacrifices, our National Union may be preserved and our Constitution upheld, shall, if possible, be secured an opportunity for the free and intelligent exercise of all their political rights and privileges. The Constitution of this State requires the elector to vote in the election district in which he resides; but it is claimed by some that a law can be passed whereby the vote of an absent citizen may be given by his authorized representative. It is clear to me, that the Constitution intends that the right to vote shall only be exercised by the elector in person. It would be an insult and injury to the soldier to place the exercise of this right upon a doubtful or unconstitutional law, when it can be readily secured to him by a constitutional amendment.

While my own opinion upon the point is decided, and will govern my action, it is well to consider the matter under a less positive aspect. If we concede that it is one of doubt, we should not close our eyes to the possible results of an attempt to exercise it, in view of that doubt, which is felt by men of all parties in both branches of the Legislature, and elsewhere. It is possible that the next presidential election may be decided by the vote of a single State; and if votes by proxy are authorized, it is not impossible that such votes would, in such States, decide the election in favor of one party or the other. It surely cannot be necessary to impress upon any patriotic, thoughtful mind, the fearful danger which would attend the complication of the disastrous civil war which now afflicts the country by the interposition of a well-founded doubt as to persons rightfully entitled to the presidential office. The most intense earnestness and the most desperate determination which have ever marked the conflicts of men, would characterize such a contest. The decision of partisan officers, the secret plottings, excited debates, and interested conclusions of the two houses of Congress; and the action, more or less violent, of the people, at a period when the public mind is violently inflamed, and when the principles and rules which have formed the real strength of our institutions are dangerously unsettled, would convulse this community. That man must be sanguine indeed, who can hope that our National Government would survive such contests. It is not necessary that the effort to secure to our gallant soldiers and seamen a just participation in the choice of the next administration of the National Government should be subjected to such dangers. A proposed amendment of the Constitution, giving

the Legislature the needful power upon this subject, can be adopted at the present session, and if concurred in by the next Legislature, can be submitted to the people in such season that, if their decision is favorable, the action which would be afterward necessary could be taken by that Legislature. I respectfully recommend that this course be taken, rather than the passage of an unconstitutional law, or one of questionable validity. Great care should be taken to prevent, by the most efficient checks, the abuses and frauds to which the exercise of the right of suffrage by absentees would be liable. These safeguards would properly be a matter of legislation after the adoption of a constitutional amendment. Measures should be taken for securing perfect independence to absent soldiers and seamen in giving their votes, which shall be so comprehensive and efficient as to relieve any reasonable apprehension upon this point.

The conduct and policy of high officials have caused great distrust in relation to the freedom from restraint and coercion which should be accorded to the absentees in the exercise of this right. The people of this State will never consent that their absent brethren in the National service shall be debarred, when they discharge the most sacred duty of the citizen, from the enjoyment of that entire freedom of opinion which they have, by an emphatic expression at the ballot-box, secured for themselves, and which they will firmly maintain. It would be worse than mockery to allow those secluded in camps or upon ships to vote, if they are not permitted to receive letters and papers from their friends, or if they have not the same freedom in reading public journals accorded to their brethren at home, to aid them in the formation of their opinions in respect to the conduct of those in power, the issues to be decided at the election, and the character of the opposing candidates.

If the expression of their opinions by the votes they give, or by customary political action, is to subject officers to dismissal from service, and soldiers to increased privation, hardships, and exposure, the flames of civil war will be kindled at the North. I have noticed with deep regret attempts on the part of some of the officers of the National Government to interfere with the free enjoyment of their political opinions by persons in the army.

There have been marked instances of this kind which have justly excited deep feeling throughout the country. These inexcusable acts of official tyranny are rendered more objectionable by the language used in their execution, which is at once opprobrious in terms and a wanton and unjust attack upon one-half of the people of sovereign and loyal States. While subordinate officers are thus punished for doing their duty as citizens at their homes, those of high rank have been employed to interfere in the elections of States in which they are not residents.

No reasonable man can suppose that the people of this country will permit the whole army, enlisted for the purpose of maintaining the National Government, to be used for electioneering purposes by those who are charged with the temporary administration of that Government, or who are seeking an additional term of power.

I hope that the wisdom of those to whom the destinies of the nation are now confided by the Constitution will admonish them in season of the dangers of acts marked by these features of wrong and oppression.

Whether it does or not, I have confidence that the wisdom of the people and the Legislature of this State will be sufficient to secure to its absent soldiers and seamen the freedom of political opinion and action, which is their inalienable right, and in that confidence I have made the recommendations above expressed.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Governor Seymour and the Soldiers.

Special Message Vetoing the Soldiers' Franchise Bill.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, {
ALBANY, April 24, 1863. }

TO THE SENATE:—I return without my signature the bill entitled, "An Act to secure the Elective Franchise to the qualified Voters of the Army and Navy of the State of New York."

It is so clearly in violation of the Constitution, in the judgment of men of all parties, that it is needless to dwell upon that objection to the bill. While it only received in the Assembly the number of votes necessary to its passage, some of those who voted for it openly stated their opposition to the measure.

After its passage, that branch of the Legislature, with great unanimity and without regard to political differences, adopted the resolution for an amendment of the Constitution, to secure the objects of this bill, in accordance with the recommendations of the message which I lately sent to the Legislature on this subject. I do not doubt that the Senate will also pass the resolutions with the same unanimity, and then the whole subject will be disposed of with the assent and approval of all, and in a mode free from all doubts and uncertainties.

This bill is not only unconstitutional, but it is also extremely defective and highly objectionable.

The time yet remaining of the present session will not permit me to specify all the objections to its details. It does not require the proxy of the soldier to be proven before the representative of the State, but gives the power only to the field-officers of regiments who have been recently brought within the operation of the most arbitrary rules of military government; it does not permit the soldier to choose the friend on whom he would most confide as his proxy, but requires him to select one from the class of freeholders who are not recognized by our Constitution as entitled to special privileges; it subjects the person appointed (though without his consent) as a proxy to the penalties of a criminal offence, fine and imprisonment, for refusing or neglecting to deposit the vote he receives, though he may believe that it is not genuine; it provides no means of verifying at the polls the authenticity of proxies; it requires the inspectors to deposit in the ballot-box, under the penalties of a criminal offence, the ballots received with any proxy, however much reason there may be to doubt its authenticity; it allows proxies and ballots to be sent by mail, or otherwise, which permits a messenger to be selected by other persons than the voter; it does not require the messenger to be sworn; it

does not require him to deliver the proxies and ballots to the persons named as proxies, but permits him to destroy or change the proxies and ballots, or deliver them to any unsworn or unauthorized person he may select; it does not make the change or destruction of the ballots, except by the person appointed proxy, a criminal offence, or punish such an act in any manner; it fails to protect the secrecy of the ballot; and it requires the person named as proxy to deposit in the ballot-box the ballots delivered to him with a proxy, by an unknown person, although they may be different from those he knows were sent by the voter. This brief statement will be sufficient to satisfy all of the many opportunities this bill affords for gross frauds upon the electors in the army and upon the ballot-box at home. The deposit of a ballot is a final and irrevocable act, and the people will never permit ballots to be received unless with abundant guarantees that they are beyond doubt the free act of the electors.

The bill is in conflict with vital principles of electoral purity and independence. It is well said by Dr. Leiber, in his work on "Civil Liberty and Self-government," that "all elections must be superintended by election judges and officers, independent of the Executive or any other organized or unorganized power of the Government. The indecency as well as the absurdity and immorality of the Government recommending what is to be voted, ought never to be permitted."

The bill not only fails to guard against abuses and frauds, but it offers every inducement and temptation to perpetrate them, by those who are under the immediate and particular control of the General Government. That Government has not hesitated to interfere directly with the local elections by permitting officers of high rank to engage in them, in States of which they are not citizens. In marked instances high and profitable military commissions have been given to those who never rendered one day of military duty, who have never been upon a battle-field, but who have been in receipt of military pay and military honors, to support them in their interference, in behalf of the administration, with the elective franchises of different sovereign and loyal States.

Not only have some thus been rewarded for going beyond the bounds of military propriety, but others and subordinate officers have been punished and degraded for the fair and independent exercise of their political rights at their own homes, and in the performance of their civil duties. I call the attention of the Legislature and the public to the following order:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
WASHINGTON, March 13, 1863. }

SPECIAL ORDER, No. 119.

(Extract.)

* * * * *
34. By direction of the President, the following officers are hereby dismissed from the service of the United States.
* * * * *

Lieutenant A. J. Edgerly, Fourth New Hampshire Volunteers, for circulating Copperhead tickets, and doing all in his power to promote the success of the rebel cause in this State.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

To the Governor of New Hampshire. }

I regret to say that I have ample evidence that this order was issued in the terms above recited.

This order, unjust and unworthy in its purposes, and most offensive in its terms, punishes a citizen and a soldier for supporting a candidate for the office of Governor in his own State who received many thousand more of the votes of the electors than any other candidate for the station, including the one who represented more particularly the views and purposes of the National Administration. Such acts are more disastrous to the cause of our Union than the loss of battles. Such violent measures of partisanship weaken, divide, and distract the people of the North at the same moment they are called upon, without distinction of party, to make vast sacrifices of blood and treasure to uphold the Government. Notwithstanding the notoriety of these acts, the bill I return throws no guard about the rights and independence of our soldiers in the field. An amendment, designed to protect them from coercion and fraud, was rejected in one branch of the Legislature.

I deem it my duty not only to state these objections to the bill as reasons why I cannot sign it, but also to protest, on behalf of the people of this State, against the wrong of which I have spoken; and for the further purpose of securing such discussion in regard to them when the Constitution is amended in pursuance of the recommendations I have submitted, that the legislation which may be hereafter had shall be calculated to secure the rights of our citizens and soldiers, and to punish every attempt to invade their rights by force or fraud.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Speech of Governor Seymour at the Presentation of Regimental Colors to the State Legislature, April 24, 1863.

At the presentation of worn-out colors, and those of returned or consolidated regiments, to the Joint Convention of the State Senate and Assembly, Governor Seymour presiding, spoke as follows:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY:—I can add, by no words of mine, to this impressive and solemn scene. You have heard from a Representative of the Senate, and from a member of the Assembly of the State. You have listened to the earnest words of one who, himself a soldier, can with so much truth and eloquence depict the dangers and the heroism of a soldier's life. You have heard, too, the beautiful thought and musical language of the poet. But above all, you have seen the banners, which, but a short time since, were carried forth in all their brightness and their beauty, borne by stalwart men who went out from their happy homes to fight the battles of their country, brought back to us blood-stained and torn, and telling us more eloquently than can any language, of the heroism and devotion of their defenders.

Alas! for the unreturning brave! Alas! that so few of those

who fought beneath the folds of these flags, are left to tell their history as they came forth from the terrible strife defaced and tattered, but more dear to us than in their original brightness and beauty.

I will not weaken the effect of this touching and impressive ceremony by any further remarks. May Almighty God, in His goodness, grant that the heavy sacrifices we have made, may not be in vain; but that with patriotism quickened and elevated by the trials we have undergone, we may be taught to better appreciate and more faithfully discharge the duties of American citizens; and may He, who holds all nations in the hollow of His hand, pardoning our many sins, restore to us our glorious and beloved Union, so that we may again enjoy the blessings of peace, beneath a Government reinvigorated and strengthened by the deep sorrows and the fierce struggle through which it has passed.

The Pennsylvania Invasion.

Official Telegraphic Correspondence.

SECRETARY STANTON TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

"WASHINGTON, June 15, 1863.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GOV. SEYMOUR:—The movements of the rebel forces in Virginia are now sufficiently developed to show that General Lee, with his whole army, is moving forward to invade the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other States.

"The President, to repel this invasion promptly, has called upon Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Western Virginia, for one hundred thousand (100,000) militia, for six (6) months, unless sooner discharged. It is important to have the largest possible force in the least time, and if other States would furnish militia for a short term, to be credited on the draft, it would greatly advance the object. Will you please inform me immediately, if, in answer to a special call of the President, you can raise and forward say twenty thousand (20,000) militia, as volunteers without bounty, to be credited on the draft of your State, or what number you can probably raise?

"E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO SECRETARY STANTON.

"ALBANY, June 15, 1863.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington:—I will spare no efforts to send you troops at once. I have sent orders to the militia officers of the State.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR."

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO SECRETARY STANTON.

"ALBANY, June 15, 1863.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington:—I will order the New York and Brooklyn troops to Philadelphia at once. Where can they get arms, if they are needed?

"HORATIO SEYMOUR."

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO GENERAL HALL.

"ALBANY, Tuesday, June 15, 1863.

"Brig.-Gen. WM. HALL, Third Brigade National Guard:—Order all the regiments in your command to be ready to go to Philadelphia at once, on short service.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR."

GENERAL HALL'S ORDER.

"HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE, N. Y. S. N. G., }
 "NEW YORK, June 15, 1863.

"ORDER No. 3.

"Commandants of regiments are hereby directed to report to Gen. Wm. Hall, at his quarters, at 11 o'clock A.M., Tuesday morning, by order of the Commander-in-chief, Horatio Seymour, to be ready to go to Philadelphia at once on short service. The brigade drill for the 17th instant is hereby countermanded.

"By order of General WM. HALL,

"JAMES R. SMITH, Q. M."

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO GENERAL SMITH.

"ALBANY, June 15, 1863.

"Brigadier-General J. C. SMITH, 11th Brigade National Guard:—Order all the regiments in your command to be ready to go to Philadelphia at once, on short service.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR."

GENERAL SPICER'S ORDER.

"HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE, N. Y. S. N. G., }
 "NEW YORK, June 15, 1863.

"SPECIAL ORDER.

"By order of the Commander-in-chief of the State of New York

the several regiments of this brigade will hold themselves in readiness to depart for Philadelphia at once, on short service.

"By order of Brig.-General C. B. SPICER.

"R. H. HOADLEY, Brigade-Major and Inspector."

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO COL. BAGLEY.

"ALBANY, June 15, 1863.

"Colonel JAMES BAGLEY, Sixty-ninth New York Regiment:—The Governor desires to know immediately how soon your regiment can be in readiness to move to Philadelphia, on short service? Can't you be first?

"JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General."

[NOTE.—A communication, worded precisely the same as the above, was sent to the commanding officer of each militia regiment.—EDITORS.]

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO SECRETARY STANTON.

"ALBANY, June 15, 1863.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington:—We have about two thousand enlisted volunteers in this State. I will have them consolidated into companies and regiments, and sent on at once. You must provide them with arms.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR."

THE PRESIDENT'S THANKS TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

"WASHINGTON, June 15, 1863.

"To GOVERNOR SEYMOUR:—The President desires me to return his thanks, with those of the department, for your prompt response. A strong movement of your city regiments to Philadelphia would be a very encouraging movement, and do great good in giving strength in that State. The call had to be for six months, unless sooner discharged, in order to comply with the law. It is not likely that more than thirty days' service—perhaps not so long—would be required. Can you forward your city regiments speedily? Please reply early.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

GENERAL SANDFORD TO SECRETARY STANTON.

"ALBANY, June 15, 1863.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington:—By

request of Governor Seymour, who has called me here, I write to say that the New York city regiments can go with full ranks for any time not over three months—say from eight to ten thousand men. The shorter the period the larger will be the force. For what time will they be required? Please answer immediately.

“C. W. SANDFORD, Major-General.”

SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL SANDFORD.

“WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.

“TO MAJOR-GENERAL SANDFORD:—The Government will be glad to have your city regiments hasten to Pennsylvania for any term of service; it is not possible to say how long they might be useful, but it is not expected that they would be detained more than three (3) months, possibly not longer than twenty (20) or thirty (30) days.

“They would be accepted for three (3) months, and discharged as soon as the present exigency is over. If aided at the present time by your troops, the people of that State might soon be able to raise a sufficient force to relieve your city regiments.

“EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.”

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S ORDER FOR THE MOVEMENT OF TROOPS.

“GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, STATE OF NEW YORK, }
“ALBANY, June 16, 1863.

“SPECIAL ORDERS.

“Major-General Sandford, commanding First Division New York State National Guard, is directed to send as many regiments as he can furnish, and as full as possible, to Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, and report to Major-General Conch, commanding department, to assist in repelling the invasion of that State.

“General Sandford will exercise his discretion as to the organization of these regiments into such brigades as he may deem expedient, and will designate the brigadier-generals from his division, who will command them during the present term of duty.

“He is authorized to direct requisitions to be made upon the commissary-general for arms and accoutrements, and upon the quartermaster-general for clothing and camp equipage.

“By order of HORATIO SEYMOUR, Commander-in-chief.

“JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General.”

ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

“ALBANY, June 16, 1863.

“HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:—Four returned volunteer regiments can be put into the field at

once, for three months' service. Can arms and accoutrements be supplied in New York? Old arms not fit for the field.

"J. T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General."

SECRETARY STANTON TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE.

"WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.

"TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE:—Upon your requisition, any troops you may send to Pennsylvania will be armed and equipped in New York, with new arms.

"Orders have been given to the Bureau of Ordnance.

"EDWIN M. STANTON."

SECRETARY STANTON TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE.

"WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.

"TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE:—The Quartermaster-General has made provision for the clothing and equipment of the troops that may go to Pennsylvania. The issues to be made at Harrisburg. You will make requisition for subsistence and transportation as heretofore, for troops forwarded from your State.

"EDWIN M. STANTON."

SECRETARY STANTON TO ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL STONEHOUSE.

"WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.

"TO ACT. ASST. ADJUTANT-GENERAL STONEHOUSE:—The Quartermaster-General has been directed to clothe the volunteers from your State, upon their reaching their destination, and provision has been made for that purpose.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

"ALBANY, June 16, 1863.

"GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg:—I am pushing forward troops as fast as possible; regiments will leave New York to-night. All will be ordered to report to General Couch.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR."

ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

"ALBANY, June 16, 1863.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:—Officers of old organizations here will take the field with their men,

and can march to-morrow, if they can be paid irrespective of ordnance accounts. The Government would still have a hold upon them to refund for losses.

“JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General.”

ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

“ALBANY, June 18, 1863.

“TO HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:—About twelve thousand (12,000) men are now on the move for Harrisburg, in good spirits and well equipped.

“The Governor says: ‘Shall troops continue to be forwarded?’ Please answer.

“Nothing from Washington since first telegrams.

“JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General.”

ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

“ALBANY, June 18, 1863.

“TO GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pa.:—About twelve thousand men are now moving and are under orders for Harrisburg, in good spirits and well equipped.

“Governor Seymour desires to know if he shall continue to send men. He is ignorant of your real condition.

“JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General.”

THE PRESIDENT'S SECOND COMMUNICATION OF THANKS.

“WASHINGTON, June 19, 1863.

“TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE:—The President directs me to return his thanks to his Excellency, Governor Seymour, and his staff, for their energetic and prompt action. Whether any further force is likely to be required, will be communicated to you to-morrow, by which time it is expected the movements of the enemy will be more fully developed.

“EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.”

ASST. ADJUTANT-GENERAL STONEHOUSE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

“ALBANY, June 20, 1863.

“HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington:—The Governor desires to be informed if he shall continue sending on the militia regiments from this State; if so, to what extent and to what point?

“J. B. STONEHOUSE, Acting Asst. Adjutant-General.”

SECRETARY STANTON TO ASST. ADJUTANT-GENERAL STONEHOUSE.

“WASHINGTON, June 21, 1863.

“TO ACTING ASST. ADJUTANT-GENERAL STONEHOUSE:—The President desires Governor Seymour to forward to Baltimore all the militia regiments that he can raise.

“EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.”

SECRETARY STANTON TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

“WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, June 27, 1863.

“DEAR SIR:—I cannot forbear expressing to you the deep obligation I feel for the prompt and candid support you have given to the Government in the present emergency. The energy, activity, and patriotism you have exhibited, I may be permitted personally and officially to acknowledge without arrogating any personal claims on my part in such service, or to any service whatever.

“I shall be happy to be always esteemed your friend.

“EDWIN M. STANTON.

“His Excellency, HORATIO SEYMOUR.”

GOVERNOR CURTIN TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

“HARRISBURG, PA., July 2, 1863.

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR SEYMOUR:—Send forward more troops as rapidly as possible. Every hour increases the necessity for large forces to protect Pennsylvania. The battles of yesterday were not decisive, and if Meade should be defeated, unless we have a large army, this State will be overrun by the rebels.

“A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.”

ADJUTANT-GENERAL SPRAGUE TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

“NEW YORK, July 3, 1863.

“TO GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pa.:—Your telegram is received. Troops will continue to be sent. One regiment leaves to-day, another to-morrow, all in good pluck.

“JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General.”

Gov. Seymour at the Academy of Music, New York, July 4, 1863.

Review of the Situation—Action of Democrats and Republicans for past two Years—Necessity of a united North—Appeal and Warning to Republicans—Demand for Constitutional Liberty and Rights—Objects of Government—Powers of the Constitution—Advice to the Democracy.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—When I accepted the invitation to speak, with others at this meeting, we were promised the downfall of Vicksburg, the opening of the Mississippi, the probable capture of the confederate capital, and the exhaustion of the rebellion. By common consent all parties had fixed upon this day when the results of the campaign should be known, to mark out that line of policy which they felt that our country should pursue. But in the moment of expected victory there came the midnight cry for help from Pennsylvania, to save its despoiled fields from the invading foe, and, almost within sight of this great commercial metropolis, the ships of your merchants were burned to the water's edge. Since that time I have occupied every hour, to the point of physical exhaustion, to rally our troops to the rescue of an adjoining sister State; to organize the militia of our own State for our defence, and to place New York in that condition of dignity and power which a great State should ever hold, that truly respects its own rights. I have concerned myself with those measures that I thought were calculated to protect the commerce of this great city. I stand before you, then, upon this occasion, not as one animated by expected victories, but feeling, as all feel who are now within the sound of my voice, the dread uncertainties of the conflicts which rage around us, not alone in Pennsylvania, but along the long line of the Mississippi—contests that are carrying down to bloody graves so many of our fellow-countrymen, so many of our friends—that are spreading renewed mourning throughout this great broad land of ours. Under circumstances like these, I shall allow to go unnoticed many topics upon which I meant to speak on this occasion. They might seem to jar with the solemnity of the occasion. They might not be in keeping with the feelings which now press on each breast of ours. But there is one subject to which even now I feel it my duty to call your attention. There is one appeal that I want now to make to this whole community, irrespective of party, and I pray that you may hear that appeal. A few years ago we stood before this community to warn them of the dangers of sectional strife, but our fears were laughed at. At a later day, when the clouds of war overhung our country, we implored those in authority to compromise that difficulty, for we had been told by a great orator and statesman, Burke, that there never yet was a revolution that might not have been prevented by a compromise made in a timely and graceful manner. Our prayers were unheeded. Again, when the contest was opened, we invoked those who had the conduct of affairs not to underrate the power of the adversary—not to underrate the courage, and resources, and endurance, of our own sister States. All this warning was treated as sympathy with treason. You have the results of these unheeded warnings and

unheeded prayers; they have stained our soil with blood; they have carried mourning into thousands of homes; and to-day they have brought our country to the very verge of destruction. Once more I come before you, to offer again an earnest prayer, and bid you to listen to a warning. Our country is not only at this time torn by one of the bloodiest wars that has ever ravaged the face of the earth, or of which history gives an account, but, if we turn our faces to our own loyal States, how is it there? Do you not find the community divided into political parties, strongly arrayed against each other, and using with regard to each other terms of reproach and defiance? Is it not said by those who support more particularly the Administration, that we who differ honestly, patriotically, sincerely from them with regard to the line of duty, are men of treasonable purposes and traitors to our country?

But on the other hand, is it not true that many of our organization look upon this Administration as hostile to our rights and liberties; look upon our opponents as men who would do us wrong in regard to our most sacred franchises? I need not call your attention to the tone of the press or to the tone of public feeling, to show you how, at this moment, parties are thus exasperated, and stand in almost defiant attitudes to each other.

A few years ago we were told that sectional strife, waged in times like these, would do no harm to our country; but you have seen the sad and bloody results. Let us be admonished now in time, and take care that this irritation, this feeling which is growing up in our midst, shall not also ripen into civil troubles that shall carry the evils of war into our very midst and about our own homes.

Now, upon one thing all parties are agreed, and that is this: Until we have a united North we can have no successful war. Until we have a united, harmonious North we can have no beneficent peace. How shall we have harmony? How shall the unity of all parties be obtained? I wish to say a few words to you upon this point, which, I firmly believe, is one of the most important considerations to which I could call your attention.

Is harmony to be coerced? I appeal to you, my Republican friends, when you say to us that the nation's life and existence hangs upon harmony and concord here, if you yourselves, in your serious moments, believe that this is to be produced by seizing our persons, by infringing upon our rights, by insulting our homes, and by depriving us of those cherished principles for which our fathers fought, and to which we have always sworn allegiance? I do appeal to you, my Republican friends, and beg that you will receive this appeal in the earnest and patriotic spirit which prompts me to make it. I appeal to you if you are not doing yourselves and your country a great wrong when you declare that harmony and unity of parties are essential to save the nation's life, essential to the highest interests of our land, and yet stigmatize men as true and honest as yourselves, and whom experience has proved to have been wiser, too, as men who do not love their country, and who are untrue to their institutions. How, then, are we to get this indispensable harmony—this needed unity? It is not to be obtained by trampling upon rights; it is not to be obtained by threats; it is not to be obtained by coercion; it is not to be obtained by attempting to close our lips when we would utter the honest purposes of our hearts and the warm convictions of our judgment.

But, my Republican friends, there is a mode by which it can be reached; there is a mode by which the nation's life can be saved; there is a mode by which, in the end, we will restore this Union of ours, and bring back those glorious privileges which were so wantonly thrown away. We come to you in no spirit of arrogance. We do not come to you asking you to make any concession of advantage to us. On the contrary, we only say to you, holding in your hands and in your control almost all the political power of your country, to exercise it according to your chartered rights. We only ask that you shall give to us that which you claim for yourselves, and that which every freeman, and every man who respects himself, will have for himself—freedom of speech, the right to exercise all the franchises conferred by the Constitution upon an American. Can you safely deny us these things? Are you not trampling upon us, and upon our rights, if you refuse to listen to such an appeal? Is it not revolution which you are thus creating when you say that our persons may be rightfully seized, our property confiscated, our homes entered? Are you not exposing yourselves, your own interests, to as great a peril as that with which you threaten us? Remember this, that the bloody, and treasonable, and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government. Remember all the teachings of history; and we implore you, with regard to your own interests, to stop and inquire if you are not doing yourselves and your own families, and all that you hold dear to you, an infinite wrong when you sustain propositions that tear away from them, as well as from us, all the protections which the Constitution of your country has thrown around public liberty. Can you tell when ambition, love of plunder, or thirst for power will induce bad and dangerous men to proclaim this very principle of public necessity as a reason why they should trample beneath their feet all the laws of our land and the institutions of our country?

I ask you again to think if measures like these give power, dignity, or strength to our Government? I ask you, on the other hand, if those governments have not lived out the longest periods, which, in times of public danger, instead of shrinking back from the principles of liberty and the barriers of order, have raised aloft these great principles, and battled under them, and thus given strength to the hearts of the people, and gained the respect of the world? I ask you if it is not an evidence of weakness, defeat, and discomfiture, when, in the presence of armed rebellion, the Administration is compelled to assert that the very charter by which it holds its power has ceased to have a virtue that can protect a citizen in his rights? Suppose we accept this doctrine, what will be the consequences to this Government?

To-day the great masses of conservatives who still battle for time-honored principles—for chartered principles of government, amid denunciation, and contumely, and abuse—are the only barriers that stand between this Government and its own destruction. If we accept to-morrow this teaching—if we to-morrow should acquiesce in the doctrine that in times of war constitutions are suspended, and laws have lost their force, then we should accept a doctrine that the very right by which this Government administers its power has lost its virtue, and we would be brought down to the level of rebellion itself, having an existence only by virtue of material power. Would not a vital

blow be struck to liberty? If we should accept this doctrine, what would be the consequence? When men accept despotism, they may have a choice as to who the despot will be. The struggle then will not be, Shall we have constitutional liberty? But, having accepted the doctrine that the Constitution has lost its force, every instinct of personal ambition, every instinct of personal security, will lead men to put themselves under the protection of that power which they supposed most competent to protect their persons. And then this Administration would find that in putting military rulers over us, they had made military masters for themselves; for this war teaches us that the general who will betray the liberties of the people for the purpose of gaining the favor of power, will, when opportunity occurs, seize power itself.

I came here to-day to appeal to you who may be politically opposed to us. Don't do yourselves a wrong. Don't do your own Administration a wrong, and push us from that position which we are trying to hold. Do not use abuse and contumely against our persons, and threats against our property, because we stand up to say that you, and we, and all shall have our rights; because we stand up to say, your houses shall be sacred; because we stand up to say, the family circle shall not be entered, and, in English parlance, every man's home shall be his castle, within which he is safe from intrusion.

Why, what is the glory of a people and the glory of a nation? It is not the magnitude of its power; it is not the extent of its dominions. It is the fact that the humblest home is safe under its protection. The proudest boast ever uttered by Britain's proudest statesman was this—not of martial achievements—not of the triumphs upon the field—not of that wonderful dominion upon which the sun never sets—no, it was this: that the British monarch could never enter without permission the humblest home in the land, although its broken ceilings might give but scanty shelter to its humble inmates. For what are governments constituted but for this? not for dominion, not for grandeur, but in order that these great ends might be reached; that every man should enjoy the rights of person, and security of home, and freedom of conscience, and the enjoyment of his property, subject to the laws. These are the great objects of government; and any government, and any system that comes short of this, fails in its objects; and any declaration that assails or endangers these great objects is treason against human rights. But, it is said, there is a law of necessity that in times like these suspends our Constitution—that war is unfavorable to liberty. It is not true. Liberty was born in war; it does not die in war. Liberty was wrought out in the battlefield. That wonderful people who founded this great State—the Hollanders, who for eighty years battled against the martial laws and martial powers of Spain—made it a principle which sustained them during that long contest, and enabled them to render their history glorious in the annals of mankind.

Were personal rights and personal liberties suspended by our own forefathers during our Revolutionary contest? You heard the words of that Declaration of Independence, which said that men had a right to trial by jury; that the military authority should never be exalted above the civil jurisdiction; that men should not be transported abroad for trial; that they should have all the rights and privileges

known to English jurisprudence and English law; and yet to-day we are told that the men who put forth that declaration of rights and of independence amid the roar of battle, when our nation was struggling into existence in all its weakness, who declared—and they made their declaration good by their conduct through that contest—that these rights were to be held sacred in war—that these men who uttered this declaration in war made a Constitution that dies and shrinks away in war—that men learned in the perils of revolution had formed a government, under which we live, that was not equal to the very highest purposes for which governments are constituted.

I tell you it is a libel upon our fathers. So far from it being true that those who formed this Constitution contemplated that these powers should be suspended, you find in all these provisions particular care for all the dangers and the exigencies of war; you find numerous provisions that are meant to guard against the very dangers that now menace us. Your attention has been called to the fact by the gentleman who preceded me. Why was it that they so carefully guarded all your rights, amid public disorder, if they meant that the mere existence of disorder should suspend the barriers of public order and private rights? This doctrine of the suspension of the Constitution—this doctrine of the suspension of the laws, is unconstitutional, is unsound, is unjust, is treasonable!

I am one of those who are full of hope for the future. Not that I underrate the dangers which threaten us—not that I do not deplore as much as living man can the terrible ravages of this war. But why does war rage in our land? It was because the people of this generation have lost the virtues, and patriotism, and wisdom of their fathers. It was because we had become indifferent to those great truths which we have now laid before us, as if they were curiosities in legal literature, instead of being principles that should be impressed upon the heart and mind of every American.

I tell you why I am full of hope that our liberties will be maintained, our nation restored, and order once again prevail over this land of ours. It is this: Examine yourselves, I ask you, how many men there are within the sound of my voice who knew twelve months ago what the Constitution of this country was? I do not say that you did not understand it intellectually. I do not mean to say that it was not imprinted upon your memory. I do not mean to say that it had not received your assent; but it was not until we were made to feel, as our fathers felt, the value of this declaration that they had put forth, that any of us could ever see the significance of the Constitution of our country and the Declaration of Independence. We have accepted it, as I said, mentally and intellectually; but why was it, when these familiar words sounded upon your ears on this occasion, as you have heard them often before on the anniversary of our country's liberty, that they stirred your very hearts within you and made your blood tingle in your veins? My friends, we have not now a mere intellectual knowledge of the Constitution—we do not give it now a mere mental support—we have now, upon that subject, a vital, living piety that makes us better men and better patriots; and, wherever you go, all over this land, you find these sentiments now exist in the minds of more than a majority of the American people. They are now fervent in their faith—fixed in their purpose—fanatics,

if you please, for the great principles of liberty, and fanatical in their determination to see that those rights and liberties are established.

We have seen in our land two small parties, each an inconsiderable minority in the section of country where they exist, but men of purpose—men of zeal—men of fanaticism. We have seen them wage a war upon the Constitution of our country, with a persistence and power that has at last shaken it to its very foundation, and brought us to-day to the very brink of national ruin. We have seen what zeal and purpose could do when it was opposed only by a dull mental acquiescence in great truths. What may we not hope that we may do when the great majority of the American people have a fervent and vital faith in these principles which you have heard and read, and who propose to maintain them at every cost and at every hazard!

Do you wish for peace? Do you wish for victory? Do you wish for the restoration of our national privileges? Here lies the pathway, and let the American people once learn the full value of their liberties, as our fathers did, and the battle is fought and won. Without this, my friends, war can bring you no success—peace can give you no quiet until the American people are thus educated and elevated; and I believe they are rapidly becoming educated and elevated. Until that takes place, war or peace are the mere incidents of the great underlying causes of convulsion which have affected our land, and shaken our institutions to the very centre. Your particular views may lead you to attribute it to one special cause, or another special cause, but there is one great underlying general cause of this war which must be removed before the country can be restored, and that cause is indifference to our rights, indifference to our liberties, and want of an elevated wisdom that could understand the duties of American citizenship. When you have gained this, peace will be restored; when you have gained this, all the world can see that we have gone back to the wisdom of our fathers, and that we are again sustaining institutions that invited the whole world to their shelter and protection—institutions that made us but three short years ago the most glorious nation on the face of the earth. When we have again restored that virtue and that intelligence, our country will again be restored to its former greatness, and to its former glory. But, my friends, anything short of this will disappoint your hopes. No victory can restore greatness, and glory, and power to a people who are unworthy of liberty. No peace will bring back prosperity to a land which cannot understand the great principles upon which governments should be protected, and the great objects for which governments are instituted.

But, my friends, I must close. Let us now, upon this sad and solemn, as well as glorious occasion, rededicate ourselves to the service of our country in pure and fervent patriotism, putting aside passions and prejudices as far as we may, and preparing ourselves to assert and maintain the great principles stated in the Declaration of Independence, and secured to us by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Let us resolve from this time on to do our duty, and to demand our rights. In all that dignifies us, and so far as they are acting in the sphere of their constitutional powers, let us be obedient to rulers; let us submit cheerfully, patiently, and willingly to those commands which they have a right to issue, whether we like

them or not. When we have done our duty, let us claim our rights in all their fulness, in all their completeness, and in all their perfection. He who does not do his duty without regard to the misconduct of others is untrue to his country. He who does not claim his rights is untrue to liberty and to humanity. Our pathways are clear before us if we will but accept the simple and wonderful teachings of our fathers. From this time let us resolve that we will uphold all the just powers of the General Government, and the rights of the States, and the rights of persons, and, above all, as their best and surest shield, the independence and purity of the judiciary.

We stand to-day amid new-made graves; we stand to-day in a land filled with mourning, and our soil is saturated with the blood of the fiercest conflict of which history gives us an account. We can, if we will, avert all these disasters, and these calamities, and evoke a blessing. If we will do what? Hold that Constitution, and liberties, and laws are suspended—be untrue to them—shrink back from the assertion of right? Will that restore them? Or shall we do as our fathers did under circumstances of like trial, when they battled against the powers of a crown? Did they say that liberty was suspended? Did they say that men might be deprived of the right of trial by jury? Did they say that men might be torn from their homes by midnight intruders?

If you would save your country, and your liberties, begin right. Begin at the hearth-stones, which are ever meant to be the foundation of American institutions; begin in your family circle; declare that their rights shall be held sacred; and having once proclaimed your own rights, take care that you do not invade your neighbor's rights. Claim for your own States that jurisdiction and that government which we, better than all others, can exercise for ourselves, for we best know our own interests, and that which will do the most to advance the happiness and prosperity of our country; and when you decide that, take care that you do not invade your neighbor's rights.

All the lessons of political wisdom are very few and very simple; they are, for men to respect their own rights and to respect the rights of others. They are to declare that the great principles of government are not holiday affairs, meant merely for a period of calm; but that they are great truths, that can battle a storm as well. When we have determined this, as I said before, we can hope that our country will be restored to its former greatness and former glory. Once more, then, you, my Republican friends—once more, this whole community, I do invoke you to ask yourselves whether, in giving way to your passions and to your prejudices, you will not endanger your own safety and your own homes? Once more I ask those who are politically opposed to me, if I am honored with the attendance of one such, that they will inquire if, in attempting to strike down my liberties, they have not struck a blow at their own also? I ask all such if they can hope to stop the mighty ball of revolution precisely at that point which may suit their passions, their prejudices, and their purposes; and if they are not admonished that, if they still set such an evil example, and declare that laws and constitutions have lost their virtue to defend us, they have equally lost their virtue to defend them.

The New York Riots.

MAYOR OPDYKE TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR, PROPOSING AN INCREASE
OF THE MILITIA.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, }
NEW YORK, June 30, 1863. }

His Excellency HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor:—Sir—The military force of this city must be strengthened. Will you authorize General Sandford to organize from thirty to forty regiments? If you have no means of arming or equipping, the City Government will, no doubt, make adequate provision.

I urge this as a matter of absolute necessity.

GEORGE OPDYKE, Mayor.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S REPLY.

ALBANY, June 30, 1863.

To Hon. GEORGE OPDYKE, Mayor of New York, No. 70 Fifth Avenue:—I have taken steps to raise thirty regiments in New York and Brooklyn. The Inspector-General will see you to-morrow.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

NOTICE, FOR THE PURPOSE OF PERFECTING A CITIZENS' ORGANIZATION.

NEW YORK, July 14, 1863.

All citizens are requested to assemble immediately at the following places, when they will be enrolled under the direction of the persons hereinafter mentioned, viz:

City Assembly Rooms.—General Ward B. Burnett.

Seventh Regiment Armory.—General Abram Duryea, Major S. R. Pinckney, Colonel John W. Avery.

Centre Market Drill Rooms.—Colonel John D. McGregor, Charles G. Cornell, Captain John D. Ottiwell.

Room N. E. corner Thirty-second Street and Broadway.—Colonel J. Mansfield Davis, Captain R. Smedberg, Fourteenth Regiment U. S. A.

City Hall.—Colonel Robert H. Shannon, Captain I. Rynders, Captain T. S. Murphy.

No. 220 Third Street.—Captain H. Sower.

By order of HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor.

* JOSIAH T. MILLER, Inspector-General.

FIRST PROCLAMATION OF GOV. SEYMOUR.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK:—A riotous demonstration in your city, originating in opposition to the conscription of soldiers for the military service of the United States, has swelled into vast proportions, directing its fury against the property and lives of peaceful citizens. I know that many of those who have participated in these proceedings would not have allowed themselves to be carried to such extremes of violence and of wrong, except under an apprehension of injustice; but such persons are reminded that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts.

The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the courts must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people alike. No other course is consistent with the maintenance of the laws, the peace and order of the city, and the safety of its inhabitants.

Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down. The laws of the State must be enforced, its peace and order maintained, and the lives and property of all citizens protected at any and every hazard. The rights of every citizen will be properly guarded and defended by the Chief Magistrate of the State.

I do therefore call upon all persons engaged in these riotous proceedings to retire to their homes and employments, declaring to them that unless they do so at once I shall use all the power necessary to restore the peace and order of the city. I also call upon all well-disposed persons, not enrolled for the preservation of order, to pursue their ordinary avocations.

Let all citizens stand firmly by the constitutional authorities, sustaining law and order in the city, and ready to answer any such demand as circumstances may render necessary for me to make upon their services; and they may rely upon a rigid enforcement of the laws of this State against all who violate them.

HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor.

NEW YORK, July 14, 1863.

SECOND PROCLAMATION OF GOV. SEYMOUR.

Whereas, it is manifest that combinations for forcible resistance to the laws of the State of New York, and the execution of civil and criminal process, exist in the city and county of New York, whereby the peace and safety of the city, and the lives and property of its inhabitants are endangered; and

Whereas, the power of the said city and county has been exerted, and is not sufficient to enable the officers of the said city and county to maintain the laws of the State and execute the legal process of its officers; and

Whereas, application has been made to me by the Sheriff of the city and county of New York to declare the said city and county to be in a state of insurrection: now, therefore,

I, Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York, and

Commander-in-chief of the forces of the same, do in its name and by its authority, issue this proclamation in accordance with the statute in such cases made and provided, and do hereby declare the city and county of New York to be in a state of insurrection, and give notice to all persons that the means provided by the laws of this State for the maintenance of law and order will be employed to whatever degree may be necessary, and that all persons who shall, after the publication of this proclamation, resist, or aid or assist in resisting, any force ordered out by the Governor to quell or suppress such insurrection, will render themselves liable to the penalties prescribed by law.

HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor.

NEW YORK, July 14, 1863.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S SPEECH TO THE RIOTERS, JULY 14, 1863.

[NOTE.—This was an impromptu speech, delivered amid great excitement and tumult. No two reports of it agree. We append the several versions of it as printed in the journals of the day.—ED.]

(*N. Y. Tribune Report, July 15, 1863.*)

MY FRIENDS:—I have come down from the quiet of the country to see what was the difficulty, to learn what all this trouble was concerning the draft. Let me assure you that I am your friend. (Uproarious cheering.) You have been my friends. (Cries of "yes," "yes"—"that's so"—"we are, and will be again.") And now I assure you, my fellow-citizens, that I am here to show you a test of my friendship. (Cheers.) I wish to inform you that I have sent my Adjutant-General to Washington to confer with the authorities there, and to have this draft suspended and stopped. (Vociferous cheers.) I now ask you as good citizens to wait for his return, and I assure you that I will do all that I can to see that there is no inequality, and no wrong done any one. I wish you to take good care of all property as good citizens, and see that every person is safe. The safe-keeping of property and persons rests with you, and I charge you to disturb neither. It is your duty to maintain the good order of the city, and I know you will do it. I wish you now to separate as good citizens, and you can assemble again whenever you wish to do so. I ask you to leave all to me, now, and I will see to your rights. Wait until my Adjutant returns from Washington, and you shall be satisfied. Listen to me, and see that no harm is done to either persons or property, but retire peaceably. (Cheers.) Some of the crowd shouted: "Send away those bayonets," referring to a company of soldiers who were drawn up in front of the City Hall, but the Governor declined to interfere with the military, and bowing to the crowd, retired.

(*N. Y. World Report, July 15, 1863.*)

I left the country, on hearing of these disturbances in New York, for the purpose of sustaining the laws and upholding the authorities, and of inquiring personally into the difficulties. I come before you with confidence as my immediate constituents, and as one whose sentiments and principles have been tried and approved. (Cheers.) I

call on the people to maintain law and order, to protect life, person, and property, for your salvation depends upon this. Anarchy will be ruin. On Saturday last I sent the Adjutant-General of the State to Washington for the purpose of requesting that the draft might be postponed, and I had every reason to believe that the request would be complied with. If the conscription law will not bear the test of the courts and the Constitution, it will not be enforced; but if upheld by the courts, then the State and City authorities will combine for the purpose of equalizing the tax and making it bear proportionately upon the rich and the poor. (Great cheering.)

(N. Y. Herald Report, July 15, 1863.)

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—Hearing that there was difficulty in the city, I came down here, leaving the quiet of the country, to do what I can to preserve the public peace. [A voice.—“We want you to stay here.”] Governor Seymour continued: I come not only for the purpose of maintaining the laws, but also from a kind regard for the interest and the welfare of those who, under the influence of excitement and a feeling of supposed wrong, were in danger not only of inflicting serious blows to the good order of society, but to their own best interests. I beg you to listen to me as a friend, for I am your friend, and the friend of your families. I implore you to take care that no man’s property or person is injured; for you owe it to yourselves and to the Government under which you live to assist with your strong arms in preserving peace and order. (Cheers.) I rely on you to defend the peace and good order of the city; and if you do this, and refrain from further riotous acts, I will see to it that all your rights shall be protected. (Renewed applause.) I will say a word about the draft: On Saturday last (before the outbreak occurred) I sent the Adjutant-General of the State to Washington, urging its postponement. The question of the legality of the conscription act will go to the courts, and the decision of those courts, whatever it may be, must be obeyed by rulers and people alike. If the conscription shall be declared to be legal, then I pledge myself to use every influence with the State and City authorities to see that there shall be no inequality between the rich and the poor. I pledge myself that money shall be raised for the purpose of relieving those who are unable to protect their own interests. There is no occasion for resisting the draft, for it has not yet been enforced. And now, in conclusion, I beg you to disperse; leave your interests in my hands, and I will take care that justice is done you, and that your families shall be fully protected.

(N. Y. Times Report, July 15, 1863.)

On taking the stand he was greeted with vehement and prolonged cheers. He said he had come from his quiet home to this scene of excitement, to do what he could to preserve the public peace.

A voice.—“We want you to stay here.”

I am going to stay here, my friends.

He implored the men whom he saw before him to refrain from all acts of violence, and from all destruction of property. They owed it to themselves and to the Government under which they lived, to assist with their strong arms in preserving peace and order. If they would

only do this, and refrain from further riotous acts, he would see to it that all their rights were protected. (Cheers.) He was their friend and the friend of their families. He would say a word about the draft. And first he would state that on Saturday last he sent his Adjutant-General (Sprague) to Washington, to ask the Government to stop the draft in this city for the present. (Prolonged cheers.) There was no occasion for resistance, for the draft had not yet been enforced. If they would now quietly disperse to their homes and abstain from further acts of violence, he would promise them that no injustice should be done in the matter of the conscription, and that the rights of themselves and families should be fully protected. (Great applause, during which the Governor retired within the City Hall.)

GEN. WOOL CALLS FOR AID.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK, July 14, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor, &c.:—Sir—The Government of the United States has authorized me to call on you for as many men as I require. Please to send me one, two, three, or four regiments, to report to me at my headquarters at the St. Nicholas Hotel, the object being to suppress the riot now existing in this city.

Very respectfully yours, etc.,

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

P. S. Please send two regiments if no more.

Approved.

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

GEORGE OPDYKE, Mayor.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL MILLER'S REPLY.

METROPOLITAN HOTEL, NEW YORK, July 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GEN. JOHN E. WOOL, Commanding Department of the East,
New-York:—

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of this date, addressed to His Excellency, Governor Seymour, stating that the Government of the United States had authorized you to call on him for as many men as you required, and asking the Governor to send "one, two, three, or four regiments," to report to you at your headquarters at the St. Nicholas Hotel, the object being to suppress the riot now existing in this city.

In reply I have to state that, before receiving your communication, orders had been given, by authority of the Executive, to the 70th Regiment (Brooklyn), and the 25th (Albany); to report immediately for duty in this city. Their arrival, of which you will be duly informed, is momentarily expected.

Orders have also been given to Brigadier-Generals Green, Dering, and Williams, to order all the available force of their respective brigades in readiness to march to this city at a moment's notice. Please communicate if an additional force is required.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSIAH T. MILLER, Inspector-General S. N. Y.

GENERAL WOOL TO INSPECTOR-GENERAL MILLER.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK, July 14, 1863.

GENERAL: I would be glad of four regiments. This may answer with what we expect. If you can send six regiments I would be glad. We cannot have too many men at this moment. More you send me the better it will be.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

To Brig.-Gen. MILLER, Inspector-General.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO MR. SLOAN.

NEW YORK, July 15, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR—I have received your note about the draft. On Saturday last I sent my Adjutant-General to Washington for the purpose of urging a suspension of the draft, for I know that the City of New York can furnish its full quota by volunteering.

I have received a despatch from General Sprague that the draft is suspended. He will be in the city to-morrow. There is no doubt that the conscription is postponed. I learn this from a number of sources. If I get any information of a change of policy at Washington I will let you know.

Truly yours,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Hon. SAMUEL SLOAN.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS.

(From the N. Y. Tribune, July 17, 1863.)

The most earnest efforts have been made to effect a withdrawal of the troops from the Eighteenth Ward. Senators Bradley and Connolly, being able to effect nothing personally, went to Governor Seymour and begged him to use his efforts to have the troops withdrawn. Mr. Seymour, satisfied that it would be a measure of good policy, immediately addressed the following note to headquarters:

ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL, July 17, 1863.

TO THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS:—I hope you will comply with the suggestions of Senator Bradley with regard to the Eighteenth Ward.

HORATIO SEYMOUR, Commander-in-chief.

ORDER DISBANDING CITIZEN VOLUNTEERS.

TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS, ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL, }
NEW YORK CITY, July 20, 1863. }

SPECIAL ORDER No. 17.

A sufficient force of the National Guard of the State having arrived in this city to enable the civil authorities to maintain the public peace and enforce order, the Commander-in-chief directs that the several citizen volunteer organizations formed under his authority for the emergency, be relieved from further duty.

The persons in command of the reserve detachments of citizen volunteers, to whom arms have been furnished upon the order of the Governor, are directed to return such arms to Brig.-Gen. James A. Farrel, Commissary-General of Ordnance, at the State arsenal, corner of Seventh avenue and Thirty-fifth street. The Commissary-General will receive and give receipt for the same. He will also report to these headquarters all persons to whom arms were delivered and who neglect to return the same pursuant to this order. The Commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of thanking those citizens who so promptly responded to his call by volunteering to assist in restoring tranquillity. Many gentlemen deserved to be especially named, but the Commander-in-chief can only on this occasion acknowledge his obligations, and those of the city and State, to all who rendered assistance in maintaining the peace and good order of the city.

HORATIO SEYMOUR,
Governor, and Commander-in-Chief.

JOSIAH T. MILLER, Inspector-General S. N. Y.

REPORT OF GENERAL WOOL TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

NEW YORK CITY, }
July 20, 1863. }

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York :—Sir—Agreeably to a conversation with you on Saturday last, and in order that you, as well as the citizens of New York, may correctly understand the course I pursued to check the riotors who commenced their depredations in this city on the 13th instant, and for some time by their lawless acts, in killing persons, pulling down and burning buildings, to such an extent as to cause many to apprehend a general conflagration, I present you with the following statement :

The cause ascribed for this riot has been the attempt, on the part of the Assistant Provost-Marshals, to make the draft on that day at the various offices in the city. The operations of enrolling and drafting, under the conscript act, have been independent of the military commander of the department, and almost entirely under the control of the Provost-Marshal-General.

On Monday morning, 13th instant, hearing of some disturbance in the upper part of the city, I saw Colonel Nugent, Provost-Marshal of this city, and called his attention to the subject, when he informed me that the police of the city had already attended to it, and he required no other assistance; that the trouble had already subsided, and that I need give myself no further uneasiness upon the subject. I then proceeded to transact important business in the lower part of the city, after completing which, on returning to my headquarters, I was informed that the Mayor wished to see me on business of moment. I called upon him, when he informed me that a serious riot existed in some of the upper wards of the city, and asked me for assistance to quell it, saying that nearly all the militia force of the city had been sent to Harrisburg to defend Pennsylvania from the rebel invasion.

From his representations of the imminent danger, not only in re-

gard to the threatened destruction of property and lives of citizens, but also of property of the United States, which was very large, and required immediate protection, and believing that to protect the public property from destruction it was necessary to put down the rioters, I immediately complied with the request of the Mayor, and issued orders for the troops under my command in the forts of the harbor—having none in the city—to assemble at my headquarters with the least possible delay, leaving only small guards to take care of the forts. The most of the United States troops thus ordered arrived in the course of the evening of the same day, and were immediately, as they came, disposed in the best manner for the emergency.

The Mayor and myself being deficient in force, united in an application to Rear-Admiral Paulding, commanding the navy yard ; to Colonel Bowman, superintendent of the West Point United States Military Academy ; to the authorities of Newark ; also to the Governors of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island for troops. Those furnished by Admiral Paulding, a company from West Point, and one from Newark, were on the spot promptly, as well as those furnished by the Governor of New York.

The militia that could be assembled by Major-General Sandford were posted by him in the upper part of the city, at the State arsenal and its vicinity, ready to act there or at any other point of danger. Upon the call of the Governor, the Mayor and myself, the veteran volunteers in the city (officers and privates) who had been mustered out of service, as well as many citizens, volunteered their services promptly, and, organizing themselves, needed only to be furnished with arms and ammunition ; and as soon as furnished they were put in positions to act efficiently not only in defending property, but likewise in putting down the rioters.

The city police force from the beginning, under the able chief commissioner, superintendent, and other officers of its organization, displayed throughout the whole riot, not only a willingness, but very great efficiency in their noble exertions to quell the riot. For this and their harmonious co-operation with the troops engaged in the same cause, they deserve the warmest thanks of every lover of law and order, and my high commendation for their whole conduct on this trying occasion.

In the afternoon of the 13th, Brevet Brigadier-General Harvey Brown, in the immediate command of the United States troops in the forts (except Fort Columbus), presented himself, and volunteered his services, expressing a willingness to serve in any capacity in the emergency then pressing upon us. I accepted his offer, and directed him to report to Major-General Sandford, who was then in the immediate command of the troops, with Colonel Nugent, however, under him in command of the United States portion of the troops—all the troops then out being mixed of militia and regulars. Immediately after receiving my instructions, General Brown took his position at the Police Headquarters, No. 300 Mulberry street, so as to be in immediate communication with the police authorities, and I appointed two of my aids to assist him.

I soon after learned, however, that in the disposition and management of the troops there existed a want of harmony between Generals Sandford and Brown, in consequence of which I issued the following order, sending a copy to each :—

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK, July 13, 1863.

Major-General SANDFORD, Brevet Brigadier-General BROWN:—Gentlemen—It is indispensable to collect your troops not stationed, and have them divided into suitable parties, with a due proportion of the police to each, and to patrol in such parts of the city as may be in the greatest danger from the rioters. This ought to be done as soon as practicable. •

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

After this had been issued, General Sandford reported to me that his orders were not obeyed by General Brown; consequently I issued the following:—

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK, July 13, 1863.

All the troops called out for the protection of the city are placed under the command of Major-General Sandford, whose orders they will implicitly obey.

By command of Major-General WOOL.

C. T. CHRISTENSEN, Assistant Adjutant-General.

About nine o'clock of the evening of the same day (13th), after this order had been issued, General Brown presented himself to me complaining of General Sandford, and strongly objecting to serve under him, asking to be excused from the operation of the order.

My reply was to the effect that as Gen. Sandford ranked him, and the troops were mixed of militia, regulars, &c., I could not place him (Gen. Brown) in command of all, and that for efficient operations a hearty co-operation of the State and United States troops, and the police, must be had for putting down the mob, protecting public and private property, and the lives of the citizens threatened. Gen. Brown, notwithstanding, however, persisted in urging his objections, and asking to be excused. I excused him, and immediately issued the following order:—

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK, July 13, 1863.

Col. R. Nugent will take charge of all the regular troops, subject to the orders of Major-General Sandford.

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

The following morning (July 14), about eight o'clock, after myself and staff had been up all night receiving and posting the troops, General Brown presented himself again, and asked to be restored to the position he had relinquished the evening before, saying, in substance, that he considered himself in the wrong in having refused to serve under General Sandford, and that if he could be restored he would be willing to serve as ordered. I immediately granted the request, and General Brown soon after resumed his place at the Police Headquarters, Col. Nugent being directed to serve under the orders of General Brown, but not to be relieved from duty, and I issued the following order:—

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK, July 14, 1863.

Brevet Brigadier-General BROWN, United States Army:—Sir—It is reported that the rioters have already recommenced their work of destruction. To-day there must be

no child's play. Some of the troops under your command should be sent immediately to attack and stop those who have commenced their infernal rascality in Yorkville and Harlem.

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

Notwithstanding General Brown expressed willingness in case of being restored to serve in accordance with my orders, I regret being obliged to state that he afterward evinced no disposition to serve under General Sandford, but actually issued orders to troops stationed at the latter's headquarters, without any reference whatever to General Sandford, which, however, were countermanded by the latter.

After this Brevet Brigadier-General Brown continued to act under the foregoing and other written and verbal orders, which were communicated from me to him, until Friday morning, 17th inst., when, by virtue of an order from the War Department, he was relieved by Brig.-General Canby, United States Volunteers, of all the command he had previously exercised under my orders.

Many other orders than those quoted were issued during the operations, which, as they refer to details in reference to posting troops for the protection of property—public and private—need not be submitted; and I have ample reason to believe that the duties enjoined by these orders were generally discharged with efficiency by the regulars, volunteers, marines and sailors, and several gunboats, under their respective officers, furnished at my request by Rear-Admiral Paulding, as also by citizens who enrolled themselves for the occasion.

I would also mention in terms of commendation the services of the cavalry under Colonel Mott, and of other cavalry of impromptu organization; of Brigadier-General Dodge, who volunteered—all of whom finally, after the dispersion of the rioters, were placed under the command of Brigadier-General Kilpatrick, he also having volunteered. All the cavalry, however, was reserved to act under my own immediate instructions.

On Wednesday evening, 16th inst., this cavalry was directed by me to patrol the disaffected districts, and by nine o'clock that night they found, from the severe lessons the rioters had received at the hands of the police and troops, in killing and wounding many who were combined in arms and firing from buildings and corners upon the troops, and by the capture of many of their ringleaders, that the riot had been effectually subdued.

The last act of the tragedy was that the cavalry, early in the morning of the 17th, found and took possession of seventy stand of revolvers and carbines, which had been secreted by the rioters in a manure heap, and several casks of paving-stones, and took several more prisoners.

It will be seen that, from Monday afternoon till Thursday evening, the riot existed. During this period much private property was destroyed, and some public property, it is understood, was destroyed in Jamaica; also some public arms in one or two shops of individuals. The amount of private property destroyed is estimated at no less than \$400,000.

I here take occasion to express my thanks to the officers and privates of the volunteers, militia, and regulars; also to the marines and sailors, and to the officers of the navy, for their services on this occasion; likewise to officers of all grades, from brigadier-generals

down, who happened to be in the city and volunteered their services; to the police and its officers, and to many private citizens, for their aid on this occasion.

To the Governor of New York, Major-General Sandford, and his officers; to the Mayor of New York, and to Rear-Admiral Paulding, I am indebted for prompt and efficient action and assistance in the emergency; also to my former aids, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Jr., and Colonel George L. Schuyler, who volunteered especially for this occasion, and were constantly in attendance day and night.

I also take occasion to express my thanks to the officers composing my staff, whose duties during the existence of the riot were not only constant and arduous, night and day, but most effectually exerted in aiding me throughout the performance of the several parts assigned to them.

In conclusion, I have only to add that, the riot having been effectually put down on the evening of the 16th instant, on the afternoon of Saturday, the 18th instant, I was relieved of the command of the Department of the East by Major-General Dix, United States Volunteers, in virtue of the orders of the President, dated the 15th instant.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S ORDER ACKNOWLEDGING THE SERVICES OF THE
MILITIA IN THE PENNSYLVANIA INVASION, AND DURING THE NEW YORK
RIOTS.

STATE OF NEW YORK, TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, }
NEW YORK CITY, July 24, 1863. }

GENERAL ORDERS No. —

The Governor and Commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State of New York, upon the return of those regiments of the National Guard, who, upon his order, with a promptness and alacrity which excited the admiration of the whole country, went forth on a sudden call of danger to other States, expresses to them his thanks for their gallant and successful service, which has been alike honorable to them and to the State whose name and arms they are proud to bear.

By the ready and vigorous assistance thus rendered, the soil of Pennsylvania was relieved from the presence of the invader, and aid was given to the National armies which helped to win the victory at Gettysburg.

The people of the State of New York will remember with pride, and honor with praise, their fellow-citizens who have prepared themselves for this great work by a long period of drill and discipline, at a time when general encouragement was withheld. It required no little moral courage to uphold our militia system when it had fallen into disrepute; but this has been done by the citizen soldiery of New York, who have nobly maintained their organization, and by their example and

zeal revived a martial spirit throughout the State, which we must regard as our surest protection in the hour of danger. It has shown the utility of that section of our National Constitution which declares that a "well regulated militia being necessary for the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." So careful were our fathers upon this point that they exempted the musket from seizure and sale, before they placed the tools of the mechanic, and the implements of husbandry beyond the creditor's grasp. They confided the safety of the Republic in the hands of its citizens, and secured to them the musket, as they did the ballot, for the defence of their right, and the protection of their interests. Time has demonstrated their wisdom.

If our militia system is allowed to decay, all our institutions are weakened. The militia is the main strength of the Executive to maintain the laws, put down insurrection, and to repel invasion.

Within thirty days the uniformed militia of this State have gone forth to assist their brethren beyond our limits, and have returned to put down riot, arson, and robbery at home; they have aided in defending the National flag and honor upon the battle-fields of other States, and their tread upon the pavements of this great city brought back a sense of security to its disturbed and endangered inhabitants.

It would neither be just to these gallant soldiers nor true to the occasion, in commending their prompt obedience and honorable service, not to add an expression of the gratitude due to them for their just appreciation of their constitutional duties, and the labor and time they have given to preparation for their work of usefulness and honor which they have now accomplished.

The State of New York has already furnished two hundred and twenty-six thousand volunteers to the National service. It now contains within its limits three hundred thousand persons liable to service in its militia.

The proper organization of this great force will not only preserve the power and safety of the State, but enable it to be even more beneficial in its aid to the nation and to other States, than it has been hitherto.

The several regiments, as they return, will report to the commanders of their respective divisions, who will cause this order to be duly published, and to whom such further orders will be issued as may hereafter be deemed necessary.

HORATIO SEYMOUR,

Governor and Commander-in-chief.

JOSIAH T. MILLER, Inspector-General.

REPORT OF MAJOR-GENERAL SANDFORD.

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION N. Y. S. N. G., }
NEW YORK, December 30, 1863. }

BRIG.-GEN. JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adj't-Gen. of the State of New York :—General—During the present year, 1863, the First Division has performed a large amount of duty. In addition to the usual parades and drills, the reception of regiments returned from the

war, and funeral honors to our noble sons who have fallen upon the battle-fields of our country, in defence of the Union, the Division has been again called to the field, and upon its return has been engaged in the suppression of riots at home.

On the 16th of June last, I received orders of that date, from the Commander-in-chief (a copy whereof is annexed), directing me to send as many regiments as possible to Harrisburg, to assist in repelling the invasion of Pennsylvania by the rebels.

The destination of some of these regiments was changed by request of the War Department to Baltimore.

The following regiments of this Division were sent forward by me, pursuant to these orders, viz. :—

7th	regiment,	800	men,	for	Baltimore,	June	17th.
8th	do	350	do	for	Harrisb'g,	do	18th.
11th	do	850	do	do	do	do	18th.
71st	do	650	do	do	do	do	18th.
5th	do	900	do	do	do	do	19th.
12th	do	700	do	do	do	do	19th.
22d	do	600	do	do	do	do	19th.
37th	do	600	do	do	do	do	19th.
4th	do	500	do	do	do	do	20th.
6th	do	650	do	for	Baltimore,	do	22d.
69th	do	700	do	do	do	do	22d.
55th	do	350	do	do	do	do	24th.
84th	do	400	do	do	do	July	3d.

These regiments were divided into three brigades, and were placed under the command of Brigadier-Generals Hall, Ewen, and Yates, whose reports of their operations during their absence I have the honor to inclose, and to which I respectfully refer.

I also have the honor to inclose reports from the commandants of several of these regiments, which exhibit the details of their employment and services during their absence.

The readiness and alacrity with which these regiments departed to assist our sister State in the hour of danger, is evidenced by the fact that most of our New York regiments arrived at Harrisburg before a single regiment reached there from Philadelphia, and were immediately sent forward to cover all the approaches to that city, and they effectually prevented the further advance of the rebel army.

During the absence of all these regiments of my Division, on the 13th of July last, a riot of the most serious character occurred (in consequence of the commencement of the United States draft), which for three or four days was more disgraceful in its character, and more serious in its consequences, than any before known in our city, and which could not have lasted twelve hours if one-third of our regiments had been at home at its commencement.

Upon the first alarm, upon requisition of his Honor the Mayor, the whole of the Division remaining in the city was ordered on duty; but the absence of over 8,000 men at the seat of war, had left me with so small a force that my means were entirely inadequate to the magnitude of the occasion.

In this emergency, Major-General Wool, commanding the United States Department of the East, in the most liberal spirit, immediately

proffered the aid of the United States detachments in the harbor, and directed them to report to me for duty. The following is a copy of his order :—

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
New York, July 13, 1863. }

SPECIAL ORDERS.

All the troops called out for the protection of the city are placed under the command of Major-General Sandford, whose orders they will implicitly obey.

By command of Major-Gen. Wool.

C. T. CHRISTENSEN, Ass't Adj't-General.

With the remnant of the Division, and the first of these reinforcements from Gen. Wool, detachments were sent to all parts of the city, and the rioters were everywhere beaten and dispersed on Monday afternoon, Monday night, and Tuesday morning, and the peace of the city would have been entirely restored in a few hours, but for the interference of Brevet Brigadier-General Brown, who, in direct disobedience of General Wool, withdrew the detachments belonging to the United States, and thereby so materially diminished this force under my orders as to limit most seriously the operations against the rioters. General Wool's report to the Secretary of War, on the subject, will show his efforts to rectify the mischief, and the manner in which his orders were evaded and disobeyed.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the north and west side of the city was effectually cleared of rioters by detachments sent by me from the arsenal. In Broadway, Forty-second street, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-second streets, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth avenues, mobs were attacked, and in every instance defeated and dispersed. No blank cartridges were issued to or used by any of the troops under my orders. The gas-works in Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets, and also upon the East River, Webb's ship-yards, and the various manufactories threatened by the rioters, were fully protected, and numerous fires in buildings occupied by colored people, and others obnoxious to the mob, were extinguished by the firemen, after the rioters were dispersed.

In these encounters I regret to report that Major Fearing, of my staff, was very seriously wounded whilst gallantly leading a charge upon the mob in Forty-second street, and one private soldier was killed, and twenty-two officers and men dangerously, and fifty-three slightly wounded, at the storming of the barricades erected by the rioters in Twenty-ninth street, and in other conflicts which followed.

The whole of the force remaining with me at the arsenal was kept on duty day and night during the whole period, and twenty-six detachments at different times were sent out to disperse the rioters and protect private and public property.

This division has always been so organized as to be ready upon any emergency to effectually suppress all riots or insurrections, and the citizens of New York know that they can safely repose under its protection. The absence of the thirteen regiments above mentioned, and of six regiments of the Division which volunteered for the war, alone gave temporary success to the rioters.

As soon as our regiments could be recalled they returned to the city, and the rioters were then entirely dispersed; but most of the

regiments were kept on duty during the residue of the month of July, and some of them until the middle of August.

On the 17th of August last I received requisitions from the Mayor of the city, and from the Police Commissioners, in apprehension of a riot on the renewal of the draft, which was appointed to take place in this city on the 19th of August last, requesting me to call out the First Division to aid the civil authorities in preserving the peace, and suppressing any tumult, riot, or insurrection during the draft.

In pursuance of these requisitions the whole Division was called out, and stationed, by regiments and detachments, in various parts of the city, from the High Bridge to the Battery, and was kept on duty until the 5th of September, and a small detachment from each regiment until the 15th of September.

In consequence of this precaution the draft proceeded without any interruption or breach of the peace.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHAS. W. SANDFORD, Major-General.



Correspondence between Gen. Dix and Gov. Seymour on the removal of Troops from New York City.

GEN. DIX TO THE EDITORS OF THE N. Y. EXPRESS.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 27, 1863.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW YORK EXPRESS:—

GENTLEMEN:—I find in your paper of yesterday the following paragraph:—

“The Administration seems to have made up its mind not to take Richmond or to occupy Virginia; and our own impression is, that it does not mean to conquer Virginia until after the presidential election, so as not to have the Virginia vote in the next presidential ballot-box. Hence Gen. Meade is despoiled of his forces, and some 30,000, some say 40,000, soldiers are encamped here in our beautiful parks, parading before our great hotels in some places, thereby robbing the laboring classes of their places of airing or enjoyment, as in Tompkins square, while all the forts around swarm with soldiers. The conquest of New York seems of much more importance to the Administration, just now, than the conquest of Virginia.”

As the troops on service in this city were sent here at my request, I forward to you, for publication, a correspondence between the Governor of this State and myself, which will explain my reasons for

asking a military force to be placed at my disposal while the draft of men for the army was in progress. It was my wish that the law providing for the draft should have been executed under the protection of the military power of the State, in case of armed resistance to it, not only because such an arrangement would have given evidence of the cordial co-operation of the State authorities with the Federal Government in carrying out an important war measure, but because it would have rendered unnecessary the withdrawal of troops from the field at a time when they were actually employed in bringing the rebellion to a close.

Had my application to the Governor been successful, I should not have asked the General Government to send into this State a single soldier to aid them in asserting its authority, and in protecting its officers from violence in the discharge of their duties.

I am, very respectfully,

JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

GEN. DIX TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK CITY, July 30, 1863. }

HIS EXCELLENCY, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York:—Sir—As the draft under the act of Congress of March 3, 1863, for enrolling and calling out the National forces will possibly be resumed in this city at an early day, I am desirous of knowing whether the military power of the State may be relied on to enforce the execution of the law, in case of a forcible resistance to it. I am very anxious that there should be perfect harmony of action between the Federal Government and that of the State of New York, and if under your authority to see the law faithfully executed, I can feel assured that the act referred to will be enforced, I need not ask the War Department to put at my disposal for the purpose troops in service of the United States. I am the more unwilling to make such request, as they could not be withdrawn from the field without prolonging the war, and giving aid and encouragement to the enemies of the Union at the very moment when our success promises, with a vigorous effort, the speedy suppression of the rebellion.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO GEN. DIX.

ALBANY, Monday, Aug. 3, 1863.

TO MAJOR-GEN. JOHN A. DIX, Commanding Eastern Department, &c.:—Sir—I received your letter on Sunday. I have this day sent to the President of the United States a communication in relation to the draft in this State. I believe his answer will relieve you and me from the painful questions growing out of an armed enforcement of the conscription law in this patriotic State, which has contributed so largely and freely to the support of the National cause during the

existing war. When I receive the President's answer I will write to you again upon the subject of your letter.

Truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

GEN. DIX TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 8, 1863. }

HIS EXCELLENCY, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York:—Sir—I had the honor to receive, on the evening of the 5th instant, your letter of the 3d, in reply to mine of the 30th ult., informing me that you had made a communication to the President of the United States in relation to the draft in this State, and expressing your belief that his answer would relieve you and me from the painful questions growing out of an armed enforcement of the conscription act, &c.

Your Excellency promises to write me again on the subject when you shall have received the President's answer. It will afford me much pleasure to hear from you, and to receive an affirmative answer to the inquiry contained in my letter. But I owe it to my position as commander of this military department to anticipate his reply by some suggestions arising out of your answer to me. You are, no doubt, aware that the draft has been nearly completed in the nine western districts, and that it has also been completed in several districts, and is in successful progress in others in the central part of the State, under the orders of the Provost-Marshal-General. It is my duty now, as commanding officer of the troops in the service of the United States in the department, if called upon by the enrolling officers, to aid them in resisting forcible opposition to the execution of the law; and it was from an earnest desire to avoid the necessity of employing for the purpose any of my forces which have been placed here to garrison the forts and protect the public property, that I wished to see the draft enforced by the military power of the State in case of armed and organized resistance to it. But, holding such resistance to the paramount law of Congress to be disorganizing and revolutionary, leading, unless effectually suppressed, to the overthrow of the Government itself, to the success of the insurgents in the seceded States, and to universal anarchy, I designed, if your co-operation could be relied on, to ask the General Government for a force which should be adequate to insure the execution of the law, and to meet any emergency growing out of it. The act under which the draft is in progress was, your Excellency is aware, passed to meet the difficulty of keeping up the army through the system of volunteering, to the standard of force deemed necessary to suppress the insurrection. The service of every man capable of bearing arms is, in all countries—those especially in which power is responsible to the people—due to the Government when its existence is in peril. This service is the price of the protection which he receives, and of the safeguards with which the law surrounds him in the enjoyment of property and life. This act authorizing the draft is entitled, “An Act for enrolling and calling out the National forces.”

I regret that your Excellency should have characterized it as the conscription act—a phrase borrowed from a foreign system of enrollment, with odious features, from which ours is wholly free, and originally applied to the law in question by those who desire to bring it into reproach, and defeat its execution. I impute to your Excellency no such purpose. On the contrary, I assume it to have been altogether inadvertent. But I regret it because there is danger that, in thus designating it, and deprecating an armed enforcement of it, you may be understood to regard it as an obnoxious law, which ought not to be carried into execution, thus throwing the influence of your high position against the Government in a conflict for its existence. The call which has been made for service is for one-fifth part of the arms-bearing population between 20 and 35 years of age, and of the unmarried, between 35 and 45.

The insurgent authorities at Richmond have only called into service heretofore the entire class between 18 and 35, but are now extending the enrollment to classes more advanced in age.

The burden which the loyal States are called on to sustain is not, in proportion to population, one-tenth part as onerous as that which has been assumed by the seceded States. Shall not we, if necessary, be ready to do as much for the preservation of our political institutions as they are doing to overthrow and destroy them? as much for the cause of stable Government as they are for the cause of treason, and for the disorganization of society on this continent? I say, for the disorganization of society, for no man of reflection can doubt where secession would end if a Southern confederacy should be established successfully. I cannot doubt that the people of this patriotic State, which you justly say has done so much for the country during the existing war, will respond to the call now made upon them.

The alacrity and enthusiasm with which they have repeatedly rushed to arms for the support of the Government, and the defence of the National flag from insult and degradation, have exalted the character and given new vigor to the moral power of the State, and will inspire our descendants with magnanimous resolution for generations to come. This example of fidelity to all that is honorable and elevated in public duty must not be tarnished. The recent riots in this city, coupled as they were with the most atrocious and revolting crimes, have cast a shadow over it for the moment. But the promptitude with which the majesty of the law was vindicated, and the fearlessness with which a high judicial functionary is pronouncing judgment upon the guilty, have done and are doing much to efface what, under a different course of action, might have been an indelible stain upon the city.

It remains only for the people to vindicate themselves from reproach in the eyes of the country and the world by a cheerful acquiescence in the law. That it has defects is generally conceded. That it will involve cases of personal hardship is not disputed. War, when waged for self-defence, for the maintenance of great principles and for the national life, is not exempt from the suffering inseparable from all conflicts which are decided by the shock of armies; and it is by firmness and our patriotism in meeting all the calls of the country upon us, that we achieve the victory, and prove ourselves worthy of it, and the cause in which we toil and suffer. Whatever defects the act

authorizing the enrolment and draft may have, it is the law of the land, framed in good faith by the representatives of the people, and it must be presumed to be consistent with the provisions of the Constitution until pronounced to be in conflict with them by competent judicial tribunals. Those, therefore, who array themselves against it, are obnoxious to far severer censure than the ambitious and misguided men who are striving to subvert our Government; for the latter are acting by color of sanction under legislatures and conventions of the people in the States they represent. Among us, resistance to the law by those who claim and enjoy the protection of the Government, has no semblance of justification, and becomes the very blackest of political crimes, not only because it is revolt against the constituted authorities of the country, but because it would be practically striking a blow for treason, and arousing to renewed efforts and new crimes those who are staggering to their fall under the resistless power of our recent victories. In conclusion, I renew the expression of my anxiety to be assured by your Excellency, at the earliest day practicable, that the military power of the State will, in case of need, be employed to enforce the draft. I desire to receive the assurance, because, under a mixed system of Government like ours, it is best that resistance to the law should be put down by the authority of the State in which it occurs. I desire it also because I otherwise deem it my duty to call on the General Government for a force which shall not only be adequate to insure the execution of the law, but which shall enable me to carry out such decisive measures as shall leave their impress upon the mind of the country for years to come.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO GEN. DIX.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, ALBANY, August 15, 1863.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX, U. S. A., Commanding Department of the East:—Sir—I have received the final answer of the President to my suggestions with regard to the draft in this State. I regret that he did not see fit to comply with my requests, as I am confident that a generous reliance upon the patriotism of the people to fill the thinned ranks of our armies by voluntary enlistment would hereafter, as it has heretofore, prove more effectual than any conscription. As I have fully expressed my views on this subject in my correspondence with the President, of which I send you a copy, it is not necessary to again allude to those topics. I had hoped the same opportunity would be afforded New York, that has been given to other States, of showing to the world that no compulsory process was needful to send from this State its full quota of men to reinforce our armies. As you state in your letter that it is your duty to enforce the act of Congress, and as you apprehend its provisions may excite popular resistance, it is proper you should know the position which will be held by the State authorities. Of course, under no circumstances, can they perform duties expressly confided to others; nor can they undertake to relieve others from their proper responsibilities. But

there can be no violation of good order, no riotous proceedings, no disturbances of the public peace, which are not infractions of the laws of the State; and those laws will be enforced under all circumstances. I shall take care that all the executive officers of this State perform their duties vigorously and thoroughly, and, if need be, the military will be called into requisition. As you are an officer of the General Government and not of the State, it does not become me to make suggestions to you with regard to your actions under a law of Congress. You will, of course, be governed by your instructions and your own views of duty, and it would be unbecoming in me to obtrude my opinions upon one who is charged with high responsibilities, and one who is in no degree subject to my direction, or responsible to me for anything which he may do in accordance with his own judgment, and in pursuance of his convictions of propriety.

Yours truly, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

GENERAL DIX TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 18, 1863. }

HIS EXCELLENCY, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York:—Sir—I did not receive until last evening your letter of the 15th instant.

Immediately on my arrival in this city on the 18th ultimo, I called on you with Gen. Canby, and in a subsequent interview with you at my headquarters I expressed the wish that the draft in this State should be executed without the employment of troops in the service of the United States. In a letter addressed to you on the 30th ult., I renewed more formally the expression of this wish, and I stated that, if the military power of the State could be relied on to enforce the draft in case of forcible resistance to it, I need not call on the Secretary of War for troops for that purpose. In the same spirit, when some of the Marshals in the interior applied to me for aid against threatened violence, I referred them to you in order that they might be protected by authority. It was my earnest wish that the Union arm should neither be seen nor felt in the execution of the law for enrolling and calling out the National forces; but that it might be carried out under the ægis of the State which has so often been interposed between the General Government and its enemies.

Not having received an answer from you, I applied to the Secretary of War, on the 14th inst., for a force adequate to the object. The call was promptly responded to, and I shall be ready to meet all opposition to the draft. I trust, however, that your determination, of which your letter advises me, to call into requisition the military power, if need be, to put down violation of good order, riotous proceedings, and disturbances of the public peace as infractions of the laws of this State, will render it unnecessary to use troops under my command for the purpose, and that their only service here may be to protect the public property and the officers of the United States in the discharge of their duties, and to give to those who intend to

uphold the Government, as well as those who are seeking to subvert it, the assurance that its authority will be firmly and effectually maintained.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO GENERAL DIX.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, Aug. 20, 1864. }

TO MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX, Commanding Department of the East:—Sir—I have received yours, without date, in answer to my letter of the 15th inst. You are already advised of the causes of my delay in answering the suggestions in your communication of the 30th July. It is also proper I should state to you that no notice was given to me of the time when the draft would be made in the city of New York; neither was I advised of the draft which was begun in July, and interrupted by riotous proceedings. I learned from the New York journals, received here on Monday, that the draft would be made on Wednesday, which gave me but one day's time in an unofficial notice in which to consult with the generals commanding militia in the counties of New York and Kings. The notice sent me by Col. Fry, advised me of the completion of the enrolment in the several districts, the number to be drafted, and the fact that the draft was ordered. I send you herewith a copy of one of these letters. They are substantially alike. They do not state when the draft will be made, and in most cases several weeks, and in some instances a month elapses before the draft is made. I therefore expected some interval between the notice and the draft.

In the case of the sixth district, in New York, the letter of Col. Fry was received the day before the draft commenced. You will see that no time was allowed for getting credits for volunteers, for making suggestions, or preparations. I do not know that the fault rests with Col. Fry, but it is proper for me to state these facts.

Truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Orders and Proclamations concerning the Draft.

THE FIRST DIVISION ORDERED ON DUTY.

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION N. G. S. N. Y., }
NEW YORK, August 17, 1863. }

GENERAL ORDER NO. 8.

In pursuance of requisitions from the civil authorities, this Division is hereby ordered upon duty for the purpose of protecting public and private property, and preserving the peace

of the city. The several regiments will assemble at their armories and regimental headquarters, on Tuesday, the 18th inst., at seven o'clock P.M., and will wait for orders from their respective brigade-generals, or from the Major-General. Brigadier-General Yates will establish his headquarters at the Mayor's Office, in the City Hall. Brigadier-Generals will make requisitions upon the Commissary-General for fixed ammunition. Regimental Quartermasters will make their contracts for rations at the usual rates.

By order of Major-General CHARLES W. SANDFORD.

PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR SEYMOUR COUNSELLING SUBMISSION TO
THE DRAFT.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, August 18, 1863.

I have received information that the draft is about to be made in New York and Brooklyn, and I understand that there is danger of disorderly and riotous attacks upon those who are engaged in executing the law of Congress. I cannot believe that any considerable number of citizens are disposed to renew the shameful and sad scenes of the last month, in which the lives of so many, as well of the innocent as of the guilty, were destroyed. Our courts are now consigning to severe punishment many of those who were then guilty of acts destructive of the lives and property of their fellow-citizens. These events should teach that real or imaginary wrongs cannot be corrected by unlawful violence. The liberties of our country, and the rights of our citizens, can only be preserved by a just regard for legal obligations, and an acquiescence in decisions of judicial tribunals. While I believe it would have been a wise and humane policy to have procured a judicial decision with regard to the constitutionality of the conscription act at an early day, and by a summary process, yet the failure to do this in no degree justifies any violent opposition to an act of Congress. Until it is set aside by the decision of the judicial tribunals, it must be obeyed like any other act of the State or National Legislature. The following rule of duty in this respect was laid down in the farewell address of Andrew Jackson. This view has always been accepted by the friends of our Union, and upholders of our Constitution :—

“Unconstitutional or oppressive laws may no doubt be passed by Congress, either from erroneous views, or the want of due consideration. If they are in the reach of judicial authority, the remedy is easy and peaceful; and if, from the character of the law, it is an abuse of power not within the control of the judiciary, then free discussion and calm appeals to reason, and to the justice of the people, will not fail to redress the wrong. But until the law shall be declared void by the courts, or repealed by Congress, no individual, or combination of individuals, can be justified in resisting its execution.”

The antagonistic doctrine that men may rightfully resist laws opposed to their own ideas of right or duty, leads not only to great disorders and violence, but is one of the chief causes of the destructive civil war which has wasted the blood and treasure of our people.

Disregard for the sacredness of the Constitution, for the majesty of the law, and for the decisions of the judiciary, is at this time the greatest danger which threatens American liberty. The spirit of disloyalty must be put down. It is inconsistent with social order and

social security, destructive to the safety of persons and property, and subversive of the liberty of the citizen and the freedom of the nation.

Those who fear that there are designs in any quarter to overthrow the rights of the citizen, or to obstruct the accustomed administration of our laws, or to usurp any power in violation of constitutional restraints, should bear in mind that all acts of violence, all public disorders, pave the way for those very usurpations, and that they will be regarded with satisfaction by those who, for any cause, may wish to destroy either the power or rights of our National or State Government. The Constitution and statutes of the State and nation contain ample remedies for all wrongs which may be committed, either by rulers or citizens; and those who wish to preserve their rights or to punish offenders, whether in public or private life, should themselves carefully perform their duty, abstain from all illegal acts, generously support the Government, and then calmly and resolutely claim their rights. I again repeat the warning which I gave to you during the riotous proceedings of the past month: that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts.

The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the courts must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people alike. No other course is consistent with the maintenance of the laws, the peace and order of the city, and the safety of its inhabitants.

Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down. The laws of the State of New York must be enforced; its peace and order maintained, and the lives and property of citizens protected at any and every hazard. The rights of every citizen will be properly guarded and defended by the Chief Magistrate of the State. I hereby admonish all judicial and executive officers, whose duty it is to enforce the law and preserve public order, that they take vigorous and effective measures to put down any riotous or unlawful assemblages, and if they find their power insufficient for that purpose, to call upon the military in the manner pointed out in the statutes of the State. If these measures should prove insufficient, I shall then exert the full power of the State, in order that the public order may be preserved, and the persons and property of the citizens be fully protected.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S PROCLAMATION PROMULGATING THE CALL FOR
RECRUITS.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
ALBANY, Oct. 20, 1863. }

The President of the United States has called upon me, as Governor of the State of New York, to furnish its quota of three hundred thousand men to recruit the volunteer forces of the United States, which will be largely reduced during the coming year by the expiration of the terms of enlistment. At this time, the defenders of the National capital are menaced by a superior force, the Army of the Cumberland is in imperilled condition, and the military operations of the Government are delayed and hindered by the want of adequate military power, and are threatened with serious disasters. In this emergency, it is the

duty of all citizens to listen to the appeal put forth by the President, and to give efficient and cheerful aid in filling up the thinned ranks of our armies. It is due to our brethren in the field who have battled so heroically for the flag of our country, the Union of the States, and to uphold the Constitution, that prompt and voluntary assistance should be sent to them in this moment of their peril. They went forth in full confidence that they would at all times receive from their fellow-citizens at home a generous and efficient support. Every motive of pride and patriotism should impel us to give this by voluntary and cheerful contributions of men and money, and not by a forced conscription or coercive action on the part of the Government. The President also advises the citizens of the several States that, in the event of the failure to raise the quotas assigned to them, a draft shall be made for the deficiency, to commence on the fifth day of January next. Not only does duty to our soldiers in the field, and the honor of the nation demand that we shall fill our armies by voluntary enlistments, but the interests of all classes of society will be promoted by the success of that system. The unequal burdens which conscription unavoidably inflicts on a portion of society not only cause great distress and injury to individuals, but are more hurtful to the whole community than the equalized distribution of the cost and sacrifices of volunteering which more perfectly adjusts itself to the condition of all classes. The bounties which will be paid by the General Government, and in this State by the Government of New York, are extremely liberal, and much larger than heretofore given. They will aid the volunteers who shall enter the service to make ample provision for those dependent upon them. I expect all classes of our citizens to assist in recruiting the volunteers called for from this State by their influence and by liberal contributions, and I call upon all State officials to give every assistance in their power to promote enlistments into our armies, and thus save our citizens from the inequalities, the irritations and sufferings of the draft, and at the same time animate our soldiers by an exhibition of sympathy and patriotic devotion, and give strength to our armies in their battles for the preservation of the Union.

[Signed]

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Governor Seymour and the Draft.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO THE PRESIDENT.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, August 3, 1863. }

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:—Sir—At my request a number of persons have called upon you with respect to the draft in this State, more particularly as it affected the cities of New York and Brooklyn. To avoid misapprehensions, I deem it proper to state my views and wishes in writing. As the draft was one of the causes of the late riot in the city of New York, and as that outbreak has been urged by some as a reason for its im-

mediate execution in that city, it is proper that I should speak of that event. At the moment when the militia of the city were absent, in pursuance of your request, and when the forces of the General Government were withdrawn from its fortifications, leaving it defenceless against any attack from abroad, or the riot within its limits, the Provost-Marshal commenced the draft without consultation with the authorities of the State or of the city. The harsh measure of raising troops by compulsion has heretofore been avoided by this Government, and is now resorted to from the belief on its part that it is necessary for the support of our arms. I know you will agree with me that justice and prudence alike demand that this lottery for life shall be conducted with the utmost fairness and openness, so that all may know that it is impartial and equal in its operation. It is the right of every citizen to be assured that in all public transactions there is strict impartiality in a matter so deeply affecting the persons and happiness of our people. This is called for by every consideration. I am happy to say that in many of the districts in this State, the enrolled lists were publicly exhibited, the names were placed in the wheels from which they were to be drawn in the presence of men of different parties and of known integrity, and the drawings were conducted in a manner to avoid suspicion of wrong. As the enrolments are made in many instances by persons unknown to the public, who are affected by their action, and who have no voice in their selection, care should be taken to prove the correctness of every slip. Unfortunately this was not done in the districts of New York when the draft was commenced. The excitement caused by this unexpected draft led to an unjustifiable attack upon the enrolling officers, which ultimately grew into the most destructive riot known in the history of our country. Disregard for law, and the disrespect for judicial tribunals, produced their natural results of robbery and arson, accompanied by murderous outrages upon a helpless race, and for a time the very existence of the commercial metropolis of our country was threatened. In the sad and humiliating history of this riot, it is gratifying that the citizens of New York, without material aid from the State or Nation, were able of themselves to put down this dangerous insurrection. I do not underrate the value of the services rendered by the military or naval officers of the General Government who were stationed in that city, for the public are under great and lasting obligations to them for their courage and skill, and their wise and prudent counsel. But they had at their command only a handful of good troops, who alone were entirely unequal to the duty of defending the vast amount of National property which was endangered. The rioters were subdued by the exertions of the city officials, civil and military, the people, the police, and a small body of only twelve hundred men, composed equally of State and National forces, who availed themselves of the able advice and direction of the distinguished military men to whom I have alluded. It gives a gratifying assurance of the ability of the greatest city of our continent to maintain order in its midst, under circumstances so disadvantageous, against an uprising so unexpected, and having its origin in a question deeply exciting to the minds of the great masses of its population. The return from the war of some of the New York militia regiments restored peace and security to the city. I ordered troops from dif-

ferent parts of our State, but I could not get them to the city before the riot was quelled, neither could the General Government give any substantial aid. It could not even man its own forts, nor had it the means to protect its own arsenals and navy-yards against any of the vessels which were at that time engaged in burning the ships of our merchants almost within sight of our coasts. For a time these very fortifications were the chief danger to the harbor of New York. One thousand men could have seized them all, and have used their armaments for the destruction of its shipping, and of the city itself. At the time this riot took place, I was engaged with Senator Morgan and Comptroller Robinson, of this State, on the subject of harbor defences, and placed under the direction of General Wool the unorganized bodies of National volunteers still under my command, and I ordered bodies of the military from the interior of New York into the fortifications, to be under his control, and I made arrangements with him for their reception; but on the 12th instant, the day before the riot broke out, I was requested by General Wool to countermand my orders directing the militia to proceed to the harbor of New York. The reason for this, I understand, is that the rules of the service or the laws of the United States do not permit the War Department to accept of the services of troops for special or qualified purposes. The inability of the Government at that moment to defend its forts and public property, or to give any substantial assistance in putting down a riot, while the militia of the city were supporting the National cause in another field, will be shown by the following letter, which was communicated to my associates, Messrs. Morgan and Robinson, and to myself, the week before these outrages occurred.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }
NEW YORK, June 30. }

To His Excellency, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York:—
Sir—Allow me to call your attention to the defenceless condition of this city. I have only five hundred and fifty men to garrison eight forts. One-half of these cannot be called artillerists, being very imperfectly instructed in any part of artillery duty. The Roanoke is ordered to proceed to Hampton Roads, leaving no vessel of war in the harbor or at the depot that could be available in less than ten days. The militia of this city and Brooklyn have either been or are being sent to protect and defend Pennsylvania, who is now paying dear for her neglecting to take care of herself by guarding her frontier. Is it wise for New York to follow her example by neglecting to protect the city of New York, the great emporium of the country, and of more importance at the present moment to the Government than all other cities under its control? If I had a sufficient number of men to man our guns I might protect the city from ordinary ships-of-war, but not from iron-clad steamers. In our present condition, from want of men to man our guns, the Alabama, or any other vessel of her class might, without fear of injury, enter our harbor, and in a few hours destroy one hundred millions of property. I have done all in my power to guard against the present condition of the city; but I have thus far been unsuccessful. I have called the attention of the Mayor as well as others, again and again, to the defenceless condition of the city. The Mayor can do but little, from the fact that the militia have been ordered to defend Pennsylvania. We ought to have one or two iron-clad steamers, and several gunboats, to guard the harbor. These, with men to man the guns of our forts, would be sufficient to protect and defend the city. The company of artillery raised for the forts in this harbor, which I requested your Excellency to turn over to me, has been sent to Pennsylvania. The condition of the city is an invitation to rebels to make the effort to assail it.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN E. WOOL, Major-General.

While this deplorable riot has brought disgrace upon the great city in which it occurred, it is due to the character of its population to say that they were able to put it down without aid from any other quarter, to save their city, and to rescue their own and the Government property from the violence of a mob at a critical moment, when they had sent their armed men to save the National capital from falling into the hands of hostile arms. For this patriotic service they have already received your thanks and the gratitude of the nation. However much we may denounce and deplore the violence of bad or misguided men, it would be alike unjust and ungrateful to urge the execution of the draft in any spirit of resentment, or to show any unwillingness to see that the most exact justice is observed in the execution of the measure and in fixing the amount of the quotas. I am sure that you will unite with me in repelling any counsels suggested by excited passions or partisan prejudices; for you have on more than one occasion acknowledged the generous and patriotic promptitude with which the city of New York has responded to calls made upon it by you in moments of sudden peril. The act of Congress providing for the conscription directs that in determining the quotas of men to be furnished by each State, regard shall be had to the number of volunteers and militia furnished by them, respectively, since the commencement of the present rebellion, and that they shall be so assigned as to equalize the number among the districts of the several States, allowing for those already furnished, and for the time of their service. I believe that New York is the only Atlantic State, save Rhode Island, which has furnished her full quota heretofore, and has also furnished a surplus, which entitles her to a credit upon the present draft. But the statement made at the office of the Provost-Marshal-General at Washington of this credit does not agree with that claimed at the office of the Adjutant-General of this State. I do not doubt the impartiality of Colonel Fry, and I believe that the differences of these statements can be reconciled if an opportunity is given to compare the records of the two officers. I ask that this may be done.

After a careful examination I am satisfied that the quotas now demanded from the Congressional districts in New York and Kings County are glaringly unjust. Either the names enrolled in these districts greatly exceed the true number, or the enrolments in other parts of the State are grossly deficient. The practical injustice will be the same in either case. If regard is had to the number heretofore sent from the several districts, the records of our State show that New York and Brooklyn have furnished more than their proportion. These records were carefully kept under the administration of Governor Morgan. If the quotas now fixed upon these cities are proportioned to the number enrolled, they suffer a double wrong, for they do not get a due credit for the past, and the enrolments are excessive as compared with other sections of the State. I send you tables which show these results, and I will also state here a few facts. The quota for the Fourth Congressional District, with a population of 131,854, is 5,881. That fixed upon the Fifteenth Congressional District, with a population of 132,232, is only 2,260. The quota upon the last-named district should exceed that of the city district; for the census returns show that there is a larger population of females and of aliens in the

city of New York than in the country. If the comparison is made by the number of votes instead of population, taking the last election when the vote was very full, it will be seen that the call upon the city district is 5,881 upon a vote of 12,363, while upon the country district it is only 2,260 upon a vote of 23,165. In two adjoining districts in the city of Brooklyn, the discrepancies are equally striking. In that represented by Mr. Odell, with a population of 132,242, the quota is 2,697. In the adjoining district, represented by Mr. Kalbfleisch, with a population of 151,951 it is 4,146. Yet the voters in Mr. Odell's district are 16,421, and in that of Mr. Kalbfleisch, 15,967. The draft as at present proposed, will throw upon the eastern portion of the State, comparatively less than one-third of the Congressional districts, more than one-half of the burdens of the conscription. This is particularly unjust toward New York and Brooklyn; for they have not only furnished their fair proportions heretofore without counting the numbers they have given to the navy of the country, but they have been the recruiting grounds for other States, and constant complaints are now made that agents from other States are now employed for that purpose within those cities, and are bringing persons there to act as substitutes, thus reducing still more the number of persons who will be compelled to meet this undue demand which obliges them to leave their families and their homes, and to peril their lives, if they are less fortunate than others in their ability to pay the sum fixed as a commutation. I earnestly request that you will direct that the enrolling officers shall submit to the State authorities their lists, and that an opportunity shall be given me, as Governor of this State, and to other proper State officers, to look into the fairness of these proceedings. Justice to the enrolling officers, to the honor and dignity of the Government, to the people who are so deeply affected, and to the public tranquillity, demands that the suspicions which are entertained shall be removed if they are unfounded. It is just to add, that the Administration owes this to itself, as these inequalities fall most heavily upon those districts which have been opposed to its political views. I am sure that this fact will strengthen your purpose to see that justice is done. The enrolments are only complete in about one-half of the districts. The results were sent to me at intervals during the month of July, but were only recently received by me in consequence of my absence at the city of New York. I am confident that you will agree with me that the public interest in every respect will be promoted by affording the fullest evidence of the faithfulness and impartiality with which the conscription is conducted. In the meanwhile, large numbers are availing themselves of the bounties offered by the State and National Governments, and are voluntarily enlisting, thus mitigating the distress which a compulsory draft necessarily carries into the homes of our people. The State of New York offers liberal bounties to those who enlist. I believe it will be found that the abandonment of voluntary enlistment for a forced conscription will prove to be unfortunate as a policy; that it will not secure either so many or so effective men as that system which, one year since, gave to the Government the largest army ever raised within so short a space of time by the voluntary action of any people.

I do not propose to discuss in this connection the reasons why the people withhold the support heretofore so cheerfully rendered. Here-

after I shall make that the subject of further communication. But assuming it to be due to the exhaustion of a number of those able to bear arms, it would only prove how heavily this new demand falls upon the productive interests and labor of our country, and it makes another reason why the heavy burdens of conscription should be tempered by every act calculated to remove suspicions and to allay excitement. Above all, it should induce every effort to get voluntary enlistments, which fall less heavily upon the domestic happiness and business arrangements of our citizens. I ask that the draft may be suspended in this State, as has been done elsewhere, until we shall learn the results of recruiting, which is now actively going on throughout the State, and particularly in the city of New York. I am advised that large numbers are now volunteering. Whatever credit shall hereafter be allowed to this State, it is certain that there is a balance in its favor. It is but just that the delinquent States should make up their deficiency before New York, which has so freely and generously responded to the calls of the Government, shall be refused the opportunity to continue its voluntary support of the armies of the Union. There is another point which profoundly excites the public mind, which has been brought to your attention by persons from this and other States. Our people have been taught that laws must be upheld and respected at every cost and every sacrifice; that the conscription act, which demands their persons, and perhaps their lives, must be promptly obeyed, because it is a statute of our Government. To support the majesty of law a million of men had gone forth from Northern homes to the battle-fields of the South. More than 300,000 have been laid in bloody graves, or have perished in lingering disease. The guilt of the rebellion consists in raising an armed hand against constitutional or legal obligations. The soldier, who has given up his life; the capitalist, who has contributed his treasure; the mechanic and the laborer, who have paid the tax-gatherer the earnings of their toil, have cheerfully made these sacrifices, because they saw in the power of law not only obligations to obedience, but protection to their rights, to their persons, and to their homes. It is this protection that alone gives value to our Government. It is believed by at least one-half of the people of the loyal States that the conscription act, which they are called upon to obey, because it stands upon the statute-book, is in itself a violation of the supreme constitutional law. There is a fear and suspicion that while they are threatened with the severest penalties of the law they are to be deprived of its protection. In the minds of the American people the duty of obedience and the rights to protection are inseparable. If it is, therefore, proposed on the one hand to exact obedience at the point of the bayonet, and upon the other hand to shut off, by military power, all approach to our judicial tribunals, and to deny redress for wrongs, we have reason to fear the most ruinous results.

These disasters may be produced as well by bringing laws into contempt, and by a destruction of respect for the decision of courts, as by open resistance. This Government and our people have more to fear from an acquiescence in the disorganizing teachings, that war suspends their legal rights, or destroys their legal remedy, than they have to fear from resistance to the doctrine that measures can be enforced without regard to the decisions of judicial tribunals. The

refusal of governments to give protection excites citizens to disobedience. The successful execution of the conscription act depends upon the settlement, by judicial tribunals, of its constitutionality. With such decisions in its favor it will have a hold upon the public respect and deference which it now lacks. A refusal to submit it to this test will be regarded as evidence that it wants legality and binding power. A measure so unusual in the history of this country, which jars so harshly with those ideas of voluntary action which have so long prevailed in this community, and which have been so conspicuous in the conduct of this war, should go forth with all the sanction of every department of our Government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. With such sanctions it would overcome the hostility which it naturally creates in the minds of a people conscious of their patriotism and jealous of their rights. I earnestly urge that the Government interpose no obstructions to the earliest practical judicial decisions upon this point. Our accustomed procedures give to our citizens the right to bring all questions affecting personal liberty or compulsory service in a direct and summary manner to the judges and courts of the State or Nation. The decisions which would thus naturally be rendered within a brief period, and after full and ample discussion, would make such a current of judicial opinion as would satisfy the public mind that the act is either valid or void. The right of this Government to enforce military service in any other mode than that pointed out by the Constitution, cannot be established by a violent enforcement of the statute. It must be determined ultimately by the judiciary. It should be determined in advance of an enforcement which must be destructive to so many lives. It would be a cruel mockery to withhold such decision until after the irremediable injury of its execution upon those who are unable to pay the sum demanded in lieu of their persons. Those who are able to commute might have their remedy by recovery of the money paid in commutation. No evils are to be feared if the law should be pronounced unconstitutional. The submission of this Government to the decisions of our courts would give it a stronger hold upon the public confidence. It would add new vigor to our system of government, and it would call forth another exhibition of voluntary offerings of men and treasure to uphold an Administration which should thus defend and respect the rights of the people. The spirit of lawlessness in our land would be rebuked, respect for legal obligations would be invigorated, confidence in our Government would be strengthened, the dissensions and jealousies at the North, which now weaken our cause, would at once be healed up, and your voice would be potential in calling forth the power and force of a united people. By what willing strength has done in the past, you may foresee what willing and united strength may accomplish in the future. It cannot be said of New York, I believe it cannot be said of any Northern State, that, if the conscription act be declared unconstitutional, the Nation is thereby abandoned to weakness and paralysis. Be assured such a fate can never befall a Government which represents the convictions of the people, which works with the spirit and provisions of the Constitution. It is no more possible, under such circumstances, that the Nation should be left in helplessness, than that the strong man's arm should refuse to obey his will.

If this bill, which stands upon the assumed right of Congress to pass such an act, shall fall to the ground, there is still left the undisputed authority to call forth the armed power of the nation in the manner distinctly set forth in the Constitution of our country. I do not dwell upon what I believe would be the consequence of a violent, harsh policy before the constitutionality of the act is tested. You can scan the immediate future as well as I. The temper of the people to-day you can readily learn by consulting, as I have done, with men of all political parties, and of every profession and occupation. The nation's strength is in the hearts of the people. Estrange them, divide them, and the foundations fall—the structure must perish. I am confident you will feel that acquiescence in my request will be but a small concession for our Government to make to our people, and particularly that it should assure itself and them of the accordance of its subordinate laws with the supreme law of the land. It will be but a little price to pay for the peace of the public mind. It will abate nothing from the dignity, nothing from the sovereignty of the nation, to show a just regard for the majesty of the law, and a paternal interest in the wishes and welfare of our citizens.

Truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

STATEMENT OF POPULATION, DRAFT NUMBERS, VOTEES, ETC.

Congressional District.	Population.	Draft.	Vote of 1862.
Twenty-ninth,	114,556	1,767	20,097
Seventeenth,	114,526	1,838	17,882
Twenty-third,	116,980	2,088	22,535
Twenty-eighth,	129,365	2,015	21,026
Fifteenth,	132,232	2,260	23,165
Twenty-seventh,	135,488	2,416	25,601
Thirtieth,	141,971	2,539	21,385

NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN DISTRICTS.

Congressional District.	Population.	Draft.	Vote of 1862.
Third,	132,242	2,697	16,421
Second,	151,951	4,146	15,967
Sixth,	117,148	4,538	12,777
Eighth,	175,998	4,892	15,195
Fourth,	131,854	5,881	12,363

The statement shows the population, the number to be drafted, and the number of voters in the several Congressional districts, in which enrolments have been completed, and of which reports have been made to this office up to the 3d day of August, 1863.

THE PRESIDENT TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 7.

HIS EXCELLENCY, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y.:—Your communication of the 3d instant has been

received and attentively considered. I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York, as you request, because, among other reasons, time is too important. By the figures you send, which I presume are correct, the twelve districts represented fall in two classes of eight and four respectively.

The disparity of the quotas for the draft in these two classes is certainly very striking, being the difference between an average of 2,200 in one class and 4,864 in the other. Assuming that the districts are equal one to another in entire population, as required by the plan on which they were made, this disparity is such as to require attention. Much of it, however, I suppose will be accounted for by the fact that so many more persons fit for soldiers are in the city than are in the country, who have too recently arrived from other parts of the United States and from Europe, to be either included in the census of 1860, or to have voted in 1862. Still, making due allowance for this, I am yet unwilling to stand upon it as an entirely sufficient explanation of the great disparity. I shall direct the draft to proceed in all the districts, drawing, however, at first from each of the four districts, to wit: Second, Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth, only 2,200, being the average quota of the other class. After this drawing these four districts, and also the Seventeenth and Twenty-ninth, shall be carefully re-enrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process. Any deficiency which may appear by the new enrolment will be supplied by a special draft for that object, allowing due credit for volunteers who may be obtained from these districts respectively during the interval; and at all points, so far as consistent with practical convenience, due credits shall be given for volunteers, and your Excellency shall be notified of the time fixed for commencing a draft in each district.

I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it. But I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they should not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with rapidity not to be matched on our side if we waste time to re-experiment with the volunteer system, already deemed by Congress, and probably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitutional, which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO THE PRESIDENT.

ALBANY, August 8, 1863.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:—I received your communication of the 7th instant this day. While I recognize the concessions you make, I regret your refusal to comply with my request to have the draft in this State suspended until it can be ascertained if the enrolments are made in accordance with the law of Congress, or with the principles of justice. I know that our army needs recruits, and for this and other reasons I regret a decision which stands in the way of a prompt and cheerful movement to fill up the thinned ranks of our regiments. New York has never paused in its efforts to send volunteers to the assistance of our gallant soldiers in the field. It has not only met every call heretofore made, while every other Atlantic and the New England States, except Rhode Island, were delinquent, but it continued liberal bounties to volunteers when all efforts were suspended in many other quarters. Active exertions are now made to organize the new and fill up the old regiments. These exertions would be more successful if the draft were suspended, and much better men than reluctant conscripts would join our armies.

On the 7th inst. I advised you, by letter, that I would furnish the strongest proof of the injustice, if not fraud, in the enrolment in certain districts; I now send you a full report made to me by Judge-Advocate Waterbury. I am confident when you have read it that you will agree with me that the honor of the nation and of your Administration demands that the abuses it points out should be corrected and punished. You say we are contending with an enemy who, as you understand, "drives every able-bodied man he can reach into the ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen." You will agree with me that even this, if impartially done to all classes, is more tolerable than any scheme which shall fraudulently force a portion of the community into military service by a dishonest perversion of the law. You will see by the report of Mr. Waterbury, that there is no theory which can explain or justify the enrolment in this State. I wish to call your attention to the Tables on pages 5, 6, 7, and 8, which show that, in nine Congressional districts in Manhattan, Long, and Staten Islands, the number of conscripts called for is thirty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, while in nineteen other districts the number of conscripts called for was only thirty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-six.

This draft is to be made from the first class—those between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. It appears by the census of 1860, that in the first nine Congressional districts there were 164,797 males between twenty and thirty-five; they are called upon for 33,729 conscripts. In the other nineteen districts, with a population of males between twenty and thirty-five, of 270,786, only 39,626 are demanded.

Again, to show the partisan character of the enrolment, you will find on the twenty-first page of the military report, that in the first nine Congressional districts the total vote of 1860 was 151,243. The number of conscripts now demanded is 33,729. In the nineteen other districts the total vote was 457,257. Yet these districts are

called upon to furnish only 39,626 drafted men. Each of the nine districts gave majorities in favor of one political party, and each of the nineteen districts gave majorities in favor of the other party.

You cannot and will not fail to right these gross wrongs.

Yours truly,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

COMMUNICATION TO THE LEGISLATURE ANNOUNCING THE ADJUSTMENT
OF THE DRAFT DIFFICULTY.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, March 1, 1864. }

TO THE LEGISLATURE:—In my Annual Message, in referring to the enrolment and the draft, I alluded to the inequality of the enrolment as follows:—

New York is required to furnish more than other States in proportion to its population. This is shown by the following tables:	
The average ratio of enrolment to the male population in the Western States, is.....	19 per cent.
In New Jersey.....	20 "
In Pennsylvania.....	18½ "
In the New England States it is.....	17 "
In the State of New York it is.....	22 "
Massachusetts, with ten Congressmen and a population of 1,231,006, has to furnish, under the recent call for 300,000 men.....	15,126
The first nine Congressional districts of the State of New York, with a population of 1,218,949, are called upon for.....	25,166
The quota of Vermont and New Hampshire, with a united population of 641,171, and six Representatives in Congress, and four Senators, is....	7,099
The quota of two Congressional districts in New York, the 4th and 6th, with a population of 283,229, is.....	7,628

It is not claimed that this inequality grows out of any deficiency of volunteers heretofore furnished by this State.

Messrs. James A. Bell, O. Kellogg, and Wm. H. Bogart, at my request, called the attention of the Secretary of War to this subject. He promptly appointed William F. Allen, of this State, John Love, of Indiana, and Chauncey Smith, of Massachusetts, a commission to determine upon some fair mode for correcting these glaring inequalities.

This commission, composed of two citizens of other States, with one from the State of New York, have come to a unanimous conclusion that the enrolment for the State of New York, under the act of March 3, 1863, was "imperfect, erroneous, and excessive, especially so with reference to the cities of New York and Brooklyn."

The commission after due consideration, recommend, in view of the inaccuracies of the enrolment, that the quota of 60,378 men allotted to this State, under the call of the President of October 17, 1863, be reduced to 52,858, with a corresponding reduction under the call of February 1, 1864.

I am happy to state that I have received information from Washington, that the quota of this State, for the calls of 500,000 men, has been reduced, as recommended by the commission—such reduction amounting to between thirteen and fourteen thousand men.

In a crisis like the present, the saving of so many men to the industrial interests of the State should not be lightly estimated. The labor of thirteen thousand men, distributed throughout the State, will afford great relief, especially in the rural districts, where farm laborers are now with difficulty obtained.

While the State pays a bounty of \$75 to each volunteer, local bounties vary from \$300 to \$600 per man. In a financial point of view, this reduction therefore results in a saving of at least five millions of dollars to the people of New York.

It is gratifying to me to be able to bear testimony to the aid received, in the adjustment of the matter at Washington, from several senators and a number of representatives in Congress.

It is also due to the Secretary of War, to state, that he has shown a willingness to do justice to the State of New York in this matter, by the appointment of an able and impartial commission.

The following extracts from the report of the commissioners show the views held by them:—

"The commission, after a full investigation, and in view of all the facts elicited, are unanimously of the opinion, that the enrolment in the State of New York is imperfect and erroneous, excessive in some districts, and possibly too small in others, and certainly excessive in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and especially as compared with other States, and cannot be relied upon as a just and equitable basis for the assignment of the quota of the State of New York, or among the several districts thereof. Justice to the enrolling officers and agents requires, that it should be distinctly stated, that their fidelity or integrity is by no means impeached by any inaccuracies that may exist in the enrolment. They were the necessary result of the execution of the law under the circumstances and with the means at the command of the officers, and it is not perceived how they could be avoided."

* * * * *

"In conclusion, the commission are of the opinion, and so report, that the quota assigned to the State of New York, and the quota assigned to the several districts of the cities of New York and Brooklyn, are erroneous and excessive, and should be reduced."

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

LEGISLATIVE THANKS TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

The Legislature, April 16, 1864, passed unanimously the following resolutions:—

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House be, and are hereby tendered to his Excellency, Governor Seymour, for calling the attention of the general Government at Washington to the errors in the apportionment of the quota of this State, under the enrolment act of March 3, 1863, and for his prompt and efficient efforts in procuring a correction of the same.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk of this House transmit to the Governor a copy of this report and resolutions."

Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting in Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1863.

Points upon which all Men Agree—Points of Divergence—The Democracy on higher Ground than the Republicans—It proposes to wage the War for attainable Purposes—Congressional Declaration of the Objects of the War—Progress of the change of Policy—The Objects sought by the Party in Power Unattainable—Centralization Criticised—The Strength of the Government in the Affections of the People—The Draft Difficulties—The more Profitable Results of Volunteering—New York and the Pennsylvania Invasion—The Value of the Constitution—Disregard of it by the ruling Power and the Dangers thereof—Loyalty of the Democratic Party.

I SINCERELY regret that Governor Bramlette is not here to-night to speak to you. I wished you to learn from the lips of a patriot of Kentucky that the language of those who love and mean to uphold the Constitution, and intend to preserve the Union, is alike uttered by men from the North or the South, from the East or the West. You would have found that that distinguished man, who lives in a community particularly affected by the war in which we are engaged, and who has stood up with others abreast of the tide of secession, was in full accord and sympathy with us who meet here to-night to utter words which we hope may be calculated to preserve the Union of our land which we have so much at heart. In his absence I will address you briefly in regard to the great questions of the day. Our land is afflicted with a civil war of proportions unexampled in the history of the world. The flame of a great conflagration is lapping up the blood of our citizens; is destroying the property of our people; is carrying mourning and death into our homes, and threatens the very fabric of our Union. Under circumstances like these, my friends, when we assemble together, we ought to come up with an honest purpose to take that course at the coming election which shall be calculated to advance our country's good, to make our Nation once again what it was a few years since—the envy and admiration of the whole world. Unfortunately, at times like these, when so much is at stake, and when there is every reason why men should be calm, dispassionate, thoughtful, and patriotic, we are all too prone to give way to passion and prejudice. You hear from some quarters only the language of denunciation, of abuse; appeals to passion, where there should be arguments addressed to our consciences and our convictions of duty. Let us meet the questions we are to discuss to-night with an anxious purpose to discover where the right is, and having succeeded in that, boldly, manfully, patriotically, to sustain and maintain it.

Now, in the discussions which are going on in this country, there are certain points upon which all men are agreed. Let us at the outset ascertain what they are, so that we may more clearly understand the nature of the disagreements which exist between us. All men agree in this—that if the war is prolonged for a certain period of time, with a continually increasing debt, that there must come a time when the debt will reach an amount that will overwhelm us with

national bankruptcy. Men do not agree as to what that sum may be; one may say two thousand millions, another three thousand millions; but there is no man who does not agree that there is an amount of public indebtedness which, if fastened upon us, must bring upon us the calamity and disgrace of National bankruptcy. There is another point of agreement. There is no man who does not admit that if this war continues on for a certain period it must overwhelm us with National ruin. Then here are two points on which, although we may differ as to the amount of time, we essentially agree—two events that all admit must bring upon us individual and National ruin. All agree that we must bring this war to a successful issue before we have been overwhelmed by these National evils. We agree, too, that the exigency is so great and the peril so imminent that we are bound to put forth every exertion to save our country from these calamities which lie in our pathway, as soon as may be. We say to our opponents, we are ready with you to put forth every effort of physical power; we consecrate ourselves and all that we have to the salvation and perpetuation of our country. In all solemnity I say it, with a heart full of love for my country; with a desire to sacrifice anything and everything for its preservation and its happiness—with all solemnity I say it, that here again, as we have before done, do we dedicate ourselves to this most holy and patriotic work of saving this fair land of ours from ruin and disintegration. Now in this we are agreed.

Where, then, commences the point of divergence? Where do our footways branch off from each other? We go further than they, and agree to add one further influence against rebellion—that of conciliation. We desire to put the North upon a platform upon which all can stand, so that we shall present one undivided and unbroken front. We will not only bring all the powers of force against the rebellion, but we will do more than that; we will carry disunion into its ranks by extending to them in this hour when victory has crowned us, and when it is great and magnanimous so to do, every inducement that honest and honorable men can offer to them, to return to the Union. In this we differ from our political opponents; we do not refuse to exert one single energy less than they; we propose to bring to bear those influences which the history of the world, your own good judgment, everything, teaches you is essential to bring to a successful termination any contest, whether between individuals or nations. We feel that upon this point, therefore, we hold higher ground than is held by those who stigmatize us as being untrue to our country. Why do they stigmatize us thus? They would hardly make that imputation against the hundreds and thousands who have gone forth from the Democratic ranks to battle for the flag of our Nation. Why, then? Is it because we are willing not only to sustain our soldiers in the field, to sacrifice property and life, but that we say that, more than this, we will sacrifice upon the altar of our country our pride and passions, when pride and passion stand in the way of our success?

But this is not the only point of difference. Who will not concede that unless there is more energy, more skill, more judgment exhibited, than has heretofore marked the progress of this war, we are coming to certain destruction? A man may float along the beautiful river that runs by your city, in safety, for a time; but if he continues,

day after day, to float idly along, and allow the time to pass by when he can reach the margin in safety, he will find himself at last in sight of that mighty cataract whose name is famous throughout the world, and will find himself within the swift vortex of its waters, which will overwhelm him in utter destruction. So will our nation; unless we put forth every exertion, not only of material power, but of wise statesmanship, of Christian consideration, of patriotic sacrifice of passion and prejudice, we, too, shall find, alas, too late, that the period is past when we can rescue ourselves from the dangers that lie in our course.

That party is most true to the country which proposes to wage this war for purposes which are attainable, which are within reach. On the other hand, that party does the most to endanger our future and bring us to destruction, which opposes new and greater obstacles to the successful termination of the war. Now I ask you to listen for a moment while I state to you the attitude of the two great parties upon this subject. We say, on our part, that we wage this war for the purpose of upholding our Constitution, and of maintaining and defending those personal, home, hearth-stone rights of the citizen which are guaranteed in that Constitution. These, certainly, are objects worthy of the approval of all good men. They are more easily reached than the objects sought for by our opponents in this war. It is easier to bring back the Southern States, when we say that if they come back to the performance of their duties they shall also enjoy their rights as States, than it is, if we say that they must, when they return, bow abjectly to the dictation of passionate and infuriated men.

Let me call your attention to the history of the war. When it began, by the unanimous vote of Congress, representing all parties, it was solemnly declared that the object of this contest was to put down resistance to the laws, to maintain the dominion of the Constitution over the whole country, and to restore the Union of our fathers. At that time there was no division of sentiment in the North. All were united in carrying on the contest. All gave their contributions of men and money, and, for a time, the voice of party seemed to be hushed. But a little while after that we were told that the war was to be continued for another purpose; that there was a cause for this difficulty; that slavery was the cause, and slavery was to be removed. We protested against this issue. Time has moved on, and now we have another issue. Not content to have the war end with the restoration of the honor and the supremacy of the Constitution, or even with the destruction of slavery, you have recently heard the declaration from the Vice-President of the United States, and by senators from Eastern States, who not only prognosticate, but make the policy of this Administration, that this war is to go on until the General Government has added to it new power over, and new relations to, the vast regions of the South, which, they say, once were States. You have heard the boast by one senator that not only should the war go on, but that it should go on until the great and imperial State of New York was dragged at the heels of a conqueror. Can we hope for a successful termination of this war within a period of time that will save us from National bankruptcy and National ruin, if we are to have, day after day, new and more difficult issues presented, and if, day after day, in its progress, we are to be told that its ends and objects are to be more and more revolutionary and subversive of all we have been taught to honor or hold dear in our system of government?

We propose to wage this war for a purpose upon which the whole North is united; for a purpose which will draw to our standard hundreds and thousands of hearts in the South that yet beat with love for our old banner and our old Constitution. They propose that we shall carry on the war for purposes that we at the North cannot unanimously consent to; they propose, not to put down revolution, but to make revolution; they propose to offer no inducement for rebels to submit to the laws, but they say to us and to them that we shall no longer have guaranty of the Constitution for the preservation of our liberties hereafter as they have been preserved before. I appeal to you, if this is not their attitude. Can the war be brought to a successful conclusion by a party that coolly proposes that, when every interest of the South shall vibrate toward the Union, we shall plunge into an abyss of controversy and discussion, instead of saying that the Constitution shall then, as in times past, be our guide? Consider, I pray you, seriously the propositions that have been laid before the community by our opponents in reference to this war. See if it is not true that they make this war one for indefinite purposes; for objects that we cannot attain, and ought not to attain; if they do not go further than saying that it is a war for the purpose of restoring the Union and the Constitution. They declare boldly and openly that we are to abandon the traditions and laws of our fathers. To attain their ends it is necessary to trample upon the Constitution, so that the General Government shall be vested with greater powers than we have ever heretofore been willing to confer upon it. They tell you that we want a strong Government at Washington. They say that if we take jurisdiction from localities, from towns, and counties, and States, and centralize it at Washington, we shall have a stronger Government. I deny that proposition. I insist upon it that if they should succeed in that policy, so far from making the Government stronger, they will make it weaker. I do not charge that they do not honestly entertain the convictions that they express, but I charge, if carried out, they will involve the Government in ruin. The strength of the General Government lies not alone in the power which has been conferred upon it, but in the restraints which the Constitution throws around it. It is made strong, not only by what the Constitution says it may do, but by what the Constitution says it may not do.

The Constitution forbids Congress to make laws interfering with religion, with the rights of home, with the rights of free speech, because the exercise of that power would shatter it to atoms. If I might make a very palpable illustration, I would say that the Nation is like a well-bound cask. Suppose a cask should take it into its head, reasoning perhaps as wisely as they sometimes do at Washington, that if it should burst its hoops it might become a hogshead; it might increase its strength and dimensions. Why, if it should burst its hoops it would not even remain a barrel, it would be a mere bundle of staves. Now, when our General Government at Washington shall succeed in bursting these restraints upon its power, which are placed there for the purpose of its preservation, for the purpose of binding the Government together, so far will it be from true that they have strengthened the Government, the fact will be that they will have brought upon it weakness, discomfiture, dishonor, and disgrace. Let us see if these views are purely

theoretical. Last winter I was called upon by a friend of very different opinions from myself—for I have friends on the other side, notwithstanding so much is said about my "friends"—concerning the draft, and he wanted to know if I feared for the rights and existence of the States from its operation. I told him I had no such fears. I told him I should not fear for the States, but that I should tremble for the General Government itself; and I then tried to make him see that the attempted exercise of such powers on the part of the General Government, so far from arming it with greater strength, would prove perilous to it. I begged him to see and to tell those who sent him to see me, that the strength of government should be based upon the affection of the people. I begged him to tell them, that if they would make this Government strong and powerful, it was by addressing themselves to the affections and regards of the whole American people.

Not many months have rolled away since, in response to a call from the Government, the people of this country sent six hundred thousand men to fight the battles of the country. Why did they go? Was it because they were called by the voice of power? It was because they were sent for to volunteer for the defence of the nation; and they came from school district, village, town, city, and State, until they swelled into the mightiest military array that the world has ever seen. Well, as a result of this voluntary action of the public, the Administration found itself in control of a mighty army, and forgetting from whence it derived its strength—that it was the power and strength of the people alone which they held—they were bewildered with the splendor of their position, and they declared that they would no longer live upon the charity of the community, and send around a contribution-box when they wanted men or money, but whenever men were wanted they would send officers to force the people into the ranks. I warned them of the result of that experiment. I implored them, for their own sakes, for the sake of the cause in which they had engaged, not to make the attempt. If I had been influenced by personal or party considerations, I should not have said one word when they persisted in the way that was to lead them to discomfiture and disgrace. But I told them that, if they would pursue a policy that would appeal to the hearts of the people, there would be no limit to their strength; but if they should attempt to subvert the whole policy of our Government, and should suppose that they were armed with power to compel a free people in any cause, they would not only endanger themselves, but endanger the Government. I humiliated myself before these men rather than I would see them enter the homes of your citizens with force. Against my most earnest prayer that this our glorious State should be saved from the ignominy and disgrace, and be allowed to send forth her sons cheerfully and freely to the battle-field, the measure was adopted. I was told there was no time to wait for New York, though there was time to wait for New Jersey and Ohio and other States. I told them of our services. I told them, what was true, that New York was the only Atlantic State that had given more than its proportion of troops under the calls of the President. I implored in vain. The rash experiment was made. What was the result? Why, you have seen that one year ago New York voluntarily gave one hundred and twenty

thousand of her sons to the service of her country, and yet under the draft, with the whole energy of the Government put forth, with armed men paraded through the State, with threats of legal proceedings and military force, you have seen carried away less than ten thousand men, more than half of whom were in truth volunteers, because they were bought with a price.

Now that is the doctrine of consolidation carried into practical effect. Thus one method, by which our Government was to be made strong, has been tried. Is this strength or weakness? Is it success or failure? I implore you to look into this question yourselves. I do not complain of what may be said of myself; that I have been misrepresented; that I am charged with treason; with almost all the offences to be found in the catalogue of crime. I have not one word to say in my own defence, but I do complain that citizens of this State who are our political opponents join in the calumnies against their own State, which has done so much to sustain the Government. Whenever I have asked for justice for the State—and I have only asked for justice—it has always led immediately to the charge that there was a desire to embarrass the General Government. As I have said, ours was the only Atlantic State which, on the first day of January last, had sent to the war such numbers that it was entitled to credit for surplus. That was conceded at Washington. And it was conceded, too, that Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and every New England State, save the little State of Rhode Island, were behind. Since the first day of January last the State of New York has sent fifteen thousand men out of its limits to defend Pennsylvania.

[The Seventh Ward Democratic Club here entered the hall with an American flag, and a banner inscribed "Union, Liberty, and the Laws;" after which Governor Seymour continued:]

When we were so agreeably interrupted by our friends from the Seventh Ward, I was speaking of the service of New York. New York is the only State in the Union that has given bounties to volunteers from its State treasury, without regard to the question whether there was or was not to be a draft made. Since the adjournment of the Legislature I have been laboriously employed, with the whole of my staff, in the work of filling up the ranks of volunteers. Suddenly there came up a midnight cry from Washington for help. A proclamation was issued to Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, calling for a hundred thousand men to rally immediately to save the Nation's capital. A friend of mine at Washington asked them why they did not call on New York. "Oh," they said, "New York has got a copperhead Governor; he will do nothing." But New York was called on, and the result was that New York was about the only State that did anything in reinforcing the army already in the field. I do not speak of this because I claim any merit. I did but my duty. When the President of the United States, the constitutional head of this Government, called upon me, as he had a right to call upon me under the Constitution, I responded, as it became my duty to do. Now I want to state, in justice to New York and in justice to the Administration, that while many Republican citizens of New York were traucing our own great State, I received a dispatch from the Secretary of War, thanking me for my prompt response, and begging that I would send

on our troops at once, so as to stir up Pennsylvania and other States to come to the rescue. Read the history of the battle of Gettysburg—the record of that four days' fight, where the battle each day surged from side to side, so that it was not known until the very last moment which army were the victors—see how closely we battled there, and then what man dare say that the contributions that New York sent at that time did not strengthen the hearts of our army, and did not turn the tide of battle in favor of the old flag? Since the first day of January last we have raised more than sixteen thousand volunteers. If you will add the number that we sent in response to the call for thirty days—and there are times when thirty days are more than as many years—there are times when men are sent into the battle-field at the very moment when their services could not be replaced by ten years' afterwork—if we add the number sent in response to that call, we have sent, since the first day of January, more than thirty-four thousand volunteers to the service of our country; more than three times the number the coercive action of the Government produced; more than has been sent by all the other Northern States of the Union put together.

With these facts, with this generous support thus freely given to our Government, you hear charged day after day, that the Administration has been hindered by the State of New York. When it was shown how many men had gone from the State, the Republican papers of the State seemed to take the greatest pleasure in declaring that this was not so, and in stating that we had only sent three thousand volunteers, because, by some informality, they were not mentioned before they were mustered in, but while they were preparing to go. Does this not prove that injustice is being done to this State in the disparagement in which it is spoken of? Does it not also prove the great lesson of which I have spoken, that the Government, to be strong, must be founded in the affections of the people?

They tell us the Constitution may be set aside? By what right do you worship your God as your conscience dictates? By what right do you stand up here in the face of this community and say, although I stand alone, no man shall stand between me and my Maker as to the mode in which I shall worship him? Why, it is written down in the great charter of your liberties. It is by that alone that you have all the evidence by which that right exists, and all the means by which that right can be enforced. By what right, when you go to your homes, however humble they may be, do you close the latch, saying, "This is my castle?" It is only by the guarantee of the Constitution. What is it that makes sacred the relations between you and your wife, and sister, and aged father and mother, that sit by your fireside? We are told that men who talk of constitutions are traitors to their country; we are told that the Constitution is no writ of protection against Abraham Lincoln as a general, although all-powerful against Abraham Lincoln as a president. I am not one of those who have a particular admiration for Abraham Lincoln as President. I have sustained him freely and fully, frankly and fairly. I did not want him there, but I have infinitely more respect for him as a president than as a general. These doctrines are dangerous and revolutionary; they strike at the existence of the Government; they endanger your national liberties; they threaten to

shatter the very bonds of society itself. The Vice-President of the United States, in a speech within the limits of your own State, said, "There are some men who want the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is. Well, they can't have them." We can't have a Constitution as it is?

This question is involved in the coming election. I ask you, when you have, by the edict of your votes, sustained a party that declares itself opposed to the Constitution, will you have left one-third of that fundamental law to protect you? I defy any man to show when ever we have been untrue to the Constitution or untrue to our past. I defy any man to show that it is not true, that we on our part have been in favor of exerting every material and every moral power, and every exertion of statesmanship, to bring this war to a successful conclusion; and on the other hand that we have refrained from placing those obstacles in the way of that result, which are placed there by the theorists who propose to make it no longer a war for the Constitution, but a war for the extermination of slavery, and for the crushing out of the rights of the States, for the lessening of the jurisdiction of the Constitution, and the widening of that of the Administration. These things are involved in the election that is about to take place. As I said in the outset, they concern each man in his liberty, in his conduct, in his home.

I have alluded to the wrongs done our State. I have not alluded to the wrongs done myself, nor shall I do so. For I tell you here, and in saying these things I know I speak for every true lover of the country, however unjust our political opponents may be to us, however much they may traduce our character, however much they may threaten, we shall never be turned aside one hair's-breadth from the faithful and full performance of our duty. We shall not be prevented from doing our whole duty to this Administration, in all respects, where they have a right to call upon us; nor, on the other hand, will we be driven to do a wrong to our own rights by the full exercise of this power. We will do our duty, and we will demand our rights. We will battle on faithfully and hopefully for our country; for, let me tell you this, and I say that which I believe in my inmost heart, that, dark as the clouds are which hang over our country, mistaken as has been the policy of our rulers, unfortunate as has been their conduct, I tell you, notwithstanding, that I feel in my own heart assured that our Union shall live, that our Constitution shall be preserved, and that peace will again dawn upon our land. I believe that the very experiments our political opponents are making will be attended with good. Up to this time we only know that we had prospered marvellously under the system of government which our fathers adopted; but there have been those who maintained that we should have been still more successful under a more centralized government. By the experiments now making the question will be set at rest, and no man will again advocate centralization. So I am still full of confidence. I hope, in the language of another, for the time when the war shall be passed by, and that there will be upon the flag of our country every star that glitters there, and in the bounds of our confederacy a state for every star. I hope, before many months have rolled away, that all will agree that those men are traitors who would tear asunder the flag of our country, or who

would wipe out from the azure field a single star that glitters there, and that all men will unite in restoring the States to all their original splendor, to all their glory, to all their greatness, and to all their united strength.

Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting at Syracuse, N. Y., Oct. 28, 1863.

Republican Opinions of the Speaker—He ignores Personal Assaults—Review of the previous Year—Call for more Troops—Our Armies on the Defensive—The Issue pending in the New York Election—More than great Armies requisite for Success in War—The attainable Ends only should be sought—New Issues condemned—Military Necessities considered—Personal Liberty and Constitutional Rights—Value of the Constitution—Denies that he has ever hindered or embarrassed the National Administration—Aid sent to the General Government by New York under his Administration as Governor—His Policy in the Draft Controversy—Justice demanded—How to make a strong Government—The new Call for Troops.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—A short time since, the President of the United States, when addressing a political assemblage, said he knew of nothing in the Constitution that forbade him from speaking to his fellow-citizens because he was President of the United States. At a later day, too, the Vice-President of the United States addressed a meeting in the city of New York, and he did not deem it necessary to state even whether or not he considered it his constitutional right or duty, but treated the subject with contempt. Now to-day, fellow-citizens, I stand before you, feeling that there is no constitutional opposition to my addressing you, but feeling, on the other hand, that there is a great constitutional duty incumbent upon me to appear before my fellow-citizens in different parts of the State, and speak of the great questions of the day.

One year ago I spoke to you of the issues which then pressed upon us, and I ask you to listen to me now, if I can make myself heard in this vast assemblage, while I attempt to recite to you what has taken place since I stood before you then. If I am honored to-day with the presence of any Republican who believes what the Republican papers say, I am a man whose hand is stained with blood; I am a man with a black and bloody heart; I am a man whose garments smell of arson, of the smoke of buildings burned; I am a man with a mind so depraved that I wish ill to the country, and to the great and glorious State to which I am under deep and lasting obligations. But, my friends, I shall not suffer myself, before an audience of Onondaga County, the county of my birth, to defend my purposes or my character. I listened with pride to the great array of the officers of this meeting. My heart bounded with joy when I found that there were those who had differed with us heretofore who were willing to come up and act with us now, who had yielded to the power of truth.

And no man acts a greater part, no man shows greater patriotism or truer dignity of character than when he accepts great truths, and enters upon the pathway of duty fearlessly and conscientiously. Now, my friends, I am deeply sensible of the good opinion of my fellow-men, and under ordinary circumstances I might repel the assaults which have been made upon me; but, so far from desiring, here, in words of anger and reproach, to defend myself, I stand before you a man whose mind and whose heart is saddened with the contemplation of the calamities which have been brought upon this our great and happy land.

Now, my Republican friends—if I have one within the sound of my voice—I pray you to listen to me. I ask but this in return for the injury that has been done me;—listen to me earnestly, while I make one appeal for the liberties of the land and for the prosperity of our great and glorious country. If you had been with me during the last ten months in the executive chamber, where, from early morning to late at night, I have toiled on patiently and laboriously for the purpose of upholding the Government of our land, although in the hands of men with whom I differ; if you could have sat at my table and read, as I have read, day after day, the lists of who are falling in the battles of our country, where I have issued no less than six thousand commissions to those who have stepped forward to take the vacancies caused by the sad incidents of war, you would feel, as I now feel, but one single sentiment—an earnest, heart-felt desire, under circumstances like these, to do what is right, and follow truthfully the paths of duty.

Now, I propose to inquire what has taken place since I stood here one year ago? What were the circumstances of our country then? At that moment the people of the United States had given, voluntarily, under the calls of our Government, six hundred thousand men to swell the ranks of our armies. Before that time our political opponents, through their journals and speakers, had said that the Administration had failed in the conduct of the war. Therefore it was that, at the last November election, when you did me the honor to place me in the gubernatorial chair, you decided that they had failed in meeting the just expectations of the American people. You gave them 600,000 more—600,000 living men—somebody's sons, somebody's brothers, somebody's husbands. They went from the homes of our land; they constituted the wealth and power of the nation. Where are they? What has been done? Is our country saved? Is the war terminated? To-day, when we ought to rejoice at the full completion of our heart's desire, we are met, not by assurances that peace is restored to our land, not by the fact that the rebellion is put down. No, my friends, we are met by another call for 600,000 men! This moment everywhere our armies are on the defensive. The question to-day is not, "What are we doing?" but "What are the enemy doing?" The question is not, "Where do our generals attack?" but, "Where are we threatened?" Look at the Potomac. Look at the Cumberland and Tennessee. Notwithstanding the vast contributions of blood, and men, and treasure, to-day we are called upon to furnish 600,000 more, including the number embraced under the conscription act; and you, the people of New York, to-day are called upon to furnish 108,000 men before the 5th of January next.

Now there are some things about which there is no difference of

opinion among candid men of all parties. It is agreed that there is a limit in the expenditure of money, when the nation must be whelmed in National bankruptcy; and that there is a limit to the prosecution of the war, when the nation will go to ruin. Every day's expenditure of life and money brings us nearer to these calamities. We agree that the war must be brought to the speediest possible honorable conclusion. Now, which of the two parties asking your support is the one most likely to reach this result before we reach National bankruptcy, ruin, and disgrace? Let the past go. We will leave it to the judgment of the future to say who has been right and who has been wrong. Let us now confront the duties of the hour boldly and patriotically. We are to decide by our votes what shall be the future policy of the Government, for I tell you the voice of New York will be potential in the end. If the people of this State shall decide in favor of the radical policy, which is to prolong the war for indefinite issues, we are lost forever. On the contrary, if the people of this State decide in favor of a policy which can be reached, and which will bring the war to a successful conclusion, there is yet a glorious future for our land. Where do the parties differ? The Republicans say, "We want to put forth all the material powers of our land to bring the war to a close." We say so too. We are upon the brink of a cataract, without time to inquire into the past; we must put forth every material power to secure success to our cause.

But we say more than that; we say that we will add to the power of force the influences of wise statemanship, of conciliation, of Christian charity, of patriotic purpose. Are we less energetic or less patriotic because we say we will do more than they? We believe that, strong as armies are, there are other influences that should be brought to bear to save the country in the hour of peril. In every contest of life, that man is most likely to succeed who attempts to gain an end within his reach, not the man who labors for things which are vague, indefinite, and impossible. One party proposes to make this a war for an object upon which all men are agreed. One year ago the proclamation of emancipation had not been issued; the harsh legislation that proposes to trample out the rights of States had not been proposed. We say what Congress said by a unanimous vote, what all men said eighteen months ago, let this be a contest to restore our Union, to uphold the Constitution, to make us what we were—the most prosperous and powerful nation on the face of the earth. Those who control affairs have made new issues. One year ago we were a people united in purpose; to-day we are distracted and paralyzed. Why? To-day the South, which was then ready to fall to pieces, is united, and apparently as strong as ever. Why? That party most endangers the public welfare which not only refuses to use every influence that can be brought to bear, but opposes obstacles in the way of a successful completion of the contest in which we are engaged. The man who, not content with restoring the Union and upholding the Constitution, adds further objects more difficult of attainment, hinders the success of the war. I appeal to you, men of Onondaga, men of central New York, if they are not making success more difficult, more unattainable; if in any event they are not postponing the end, until you are brought nearer and nearer those calamities which lie straight in our pathway—National bankruptcy

and National ruin. They say we must fight until slavery is extinguished ; that we must fight until the States shall assume new relationships to the Federal Government ; until it becomes revolutionary in its aspects and influences. We are to unsettle what eighty years of experience had settled ; we are to upturn the foundations of our Constitution. At this very moment, when the fate of the Nation and of individuals trembles in the balance, these madmen ask us to plunge into a bottomless pit of controversy upon indefinite purposes. Does not every man know that we must have a united North to triumph ? Can we get a united North upon a theory that proposes to centralize the power of the General Government upon propositions that you shall not have the right and liberty of protecting your own person ; that the Constitution can be set aside at the will of one man, because, forsooth, he judges it to be a military necessity ? I never heard yet that Abraham Lincoln was a military necessity. If military necessities are to govern, let us at least be consistent and ask that military men shall judge what these necessities are ; men who can marshal armies in the field and fight great battles. The very proposition disfranchises you. If you assent to it, you men of central New York, give up your constitutional right to your own judgment. Recollect, my Republican friends, that you are laying down laws, not for us alone, but for yourselves. The administration of government may change. Are you willing that we should be the despots, and tread upon your rights by virtue of the principles you are upholding in folly and madness ? Can it be that the American people, after eighty years of liberty, will so easily throw away their rights under such a plea ? The Vice-President of the United States says, "There are men in your midst who want the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is," and he adds, sneeringly, "They can't have it." We tell him, too, there are such men and many of them ; and we say to him we will have it. What gives the power to a man of New England, a creature of the popular making, to say to you that you cannot have your constitutional rights ? that you cannot have the Constitution as it is. There has never been a sentiment in the North or South put forth more treasonable, cowardly, and base than this. One of them says : "We will wipe out ten stars from the National flag ; ten States shall go out of existence !" If you can wipe out the rights of the States, where are the rights of individuals ? For what are Governments constituted ? Not in order that they may gain wide-spread dominion ; not that they may achieve splendid triumphs. It is for purposes more sacred than all these. The greatest and highest objects of good government are that each man shall be free in the enjoyment of personal liberty ; each home shall be sacred from intrusion ; each conscience shall be free to worship God according to its own dictates ; each mind shall be free to exercise its own God-given functions. The proudest Government that exists upon the face of the earth is that of Great Britain, and its proudest statesman, when he would tell of Britain's crowning glory, did not speak of its wide-spread dominions upon which the sun never sets, did not say, as he might have done, that the beat of its morning drum made a continuous strain of music round the world. He did not speak of martial achievements, of glorious battle-fields, and of splendid naval conflicts ; but he said, with swelling breast and kind-

ling eye, that the poorest man of Great Britain, in his cottage, might bid defiance to all the forces of the crown. It might be frail ; its roof might shake ; the wind might blow through it ; the storm might enter ; the rain might enter ; but the King of England could not enter it. All his powers did not dare cross the threshold of that ruined tenement. I see before me persons in different conditions of life—some rich, some poor. You will go to houses unlike in many respects ; one may be embellished by all that art can bestow or a lavished expenditure of wealth procure ; the other only precious by the love that meets you there, by all the cherished relationships of life. What is it that makes the American home glorious beyond the castles of other portions of the world ? It heretofore has been this—that when you have let down the lock into its latchet, and have drawn yourselves by your firesides ; have assembled around you those whom you love, you will look about you and say, this is my castle ; no man can enter here unbidden. It was constitutional rights that made your home glorious, until you were called upon by men in power to say that this Constitution which protected you might be trampled upon under the plea of military necessity, when war did not even exist in this great State of ours. What is this Constitution of which men speak so idly ? Study it and find what it means, you men of Germany, you of Ireland, you of England, or any other European country. We know what a written Constitution means, though we may have forgotten its value, who had it written down as a deed given to us more precious than the deeds of our homes—and they are nothing without the Constitution which says that your property shall not be torn away from you without compensation and without process of law. It was a deed that made your homes valuable and sacred to you. It said that no man shall seize your person except by due process of law ; it gave you the right to worship your God in such way as you pleased ; it said that you should not be imprisoned without the protection afforded to the innocent thus imprisoned, by the writ of *habeas corpus*. You will find that the Constitution attaches itself to everything that you value in life. Yet we are called upon in the State of New York, hundreds of miles from the seat of war, the people of which have ever been loyal—a State whose whole history is glorious—we are called upon by our votes to say that we will allow the institutions built up by our fathers, and cemented by their blood, to be modified and destroyed by men carried away with the madness of passion, prejudice, and bigotry. Will you by your votes confirm these things ? If the American people are prepared to look approvingly upon these assaults on their liberties, they do not deserve to be free, and will not be free.

While I have filled the office of Governor, I have never hindered or embarrassed the Administration. Wherever it had a constitutional right to act, whether I differed or not as to the policy of certain acts, I yielded to that constitutional obligation. Since the first day of January New York has sent 16,000 volunteers ; and it is, I believe, the only State that has continued volunteering without regard to the draft. There came a cry for help for Pennsylvania, and though they hesitated to call upon the “Copperhead Governor,” they did finally, and the result was, no other State sent any help except the little adjoining State of New Jersey.

It was no credit to me; I did merely my duty; but it gives me pride that there were men in New York ready to spring to their arms at the call, and to them let the honor be given. I am willing that men should shout for glorious old Massachusetts; but I want to hear a word now and then for still more glorious New York. I do not claim any partisan merit in the matter of New York's noble responses to the calls of the Government. The Legislature was about equally divided between Republicans and Democrats. We had one advantage; we lost some strength and gained a great deal of character. When they bought over Mr. Calicott the Senate was theirs, the Governor was ours. It was our joint action. I am proud to say it belonged to the whole of New York. Yet there seems to be reluctance to acknowledge it. It is not merely that injustice is done to us. Why, Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, who was invited to address you here, boasted in Maine, that New York had been dragged at the wheels of the chariot of Abraham Lincoln.

When I came to the Governor's chair I attempted to find out how New York stood in the ledger of the nation—that terrible account, where they write down the numbers of those who have perchance been doomed to death. Now to this day neither I nor my predecessor, who differed from me in political views, could ever get a fair statement of our account. They admitted that up to the first day of January New York was entitled to a credit for a surplus of men. When the call was made under the draft I discovered great irregularities. I found great differences in congressional districts. I wanted it made right. I appeal to every man, without regard to political sentiment, if this great lottery of life should not be at least graced with fairness and equity. In no transaction in life do you permit men to make up accounts in the dark, and tell you it is a fair account. They might have done, as has always been done when a census has been taken, leave the list open to the community at the post-office, or other public place, so that the people could see that it was fair and correct. They might have done this with the enrolment lists. Why not let us know what names are put in the books? It could have done no harm, and might have added greatly to the correctness and completeness of the lists. Ought not the public to be assured that every name was there? When the drawing was made, should there not have been some method of allowing the people to convince themselves that all was fair? I wrote a letter to President Lincoln. They said I was embarrassing the Government. Why should Government be embarrassed by a suggestion of that course which every honest man says is right and just? They said my letters were of a character to excite discontent among the people. Why then did they publish them? I never did. And they wanted to get them before the public so quick that they sent them by telegraph instead of letter. But this is a question between States as well as counties. They never told us how many men they called for from Massachusetts—"glorious old Massachusetts," you know. You remember how the people worked in all the towns to fill up their quotas. It is conceded beyond dispute that Massachusetts was deficient 6,000, which would be equal to 20,000 for New York. All the New England States were deficient except Rhode Island. I could not find out how many men were called for under the draft from the New England States. New York was entitled to a credit from a previous call, and yet the number called for was something over

2,200 for a congressional district. I accidentally found a message of the Governor of Vermont, and found that the quota of that State was something over four thousand under the same call.

There is a single congressional district in the eastern part of this State that had to raise over five thousand. There are two others that contributed each about four thousand seven hundred. Vermont has three congressmen and a population of three hundred and ten thousand. Then I gained, through other sources, other information perfectly reliable, and I find that our New England friends have been called on, on an average, for about 1,700 men for a congressional district, while New York has been called upon for an average of 2,200 for a congressional district. We with a credit which we thought was to be counted for something, and they with a deficiency. If I attempt to have right done they say I am hindering the Government. I do not see how we hindered the Government by raising more volunteers than any New England State, at least, and in rescuing Pennsylvania. But in the accomplishment of this injustice which I have just explained to you, I intend to embarrass the Government, and I will before I am through with it!

Again, six hundred thousand men are called for—sons, brothers, husbands—six hundred thousand homes to be entered. The young man will be compelled to give up the corner-stone of his fortune, which he has laid away with toil and care, to begin the race of life. The old man will pay out that which he has saved, as the support of his declining years, to rescue his son. In God's name, let these operations be fair if they must be cruel. I have asked for nothing but what is just.

When they asked me if I feared for the strength of the States on account of the draft, I told them no; but I trembled for the General Government. I want the Government made strong. Our fathers asserted that if you would make the Government strong, you must make it beneficent; you must make the hearts of the people the foundations upon which it must stand. Therefore they restrained the Government from having jurisdiction over subjects in which they might do wrong, or become unpopular. These restraints are the strength of the Government. If the barrel bursts its hoops, it does not become a hog's head; it becomes a mere bundle of staves.

This Administration has attempted to break loose from these restraints and establish a central power in the General Government. The draft has been the first great attempt to exercise this power, and it has miserably failed. Instead of strengthening the Government, it has immeasurably weakened it. I do not fear for the States, but for the Federal Government. The great State of New York can maintain her rights when the little men who insult her are passed away and forgotten. You remember how gloriously the State responded to the call for volunteers. Our rulers, when they saw the mighty armies they had marshalled, thought it had been done by their own power instead of by the spontaneous patriotism of the people. They said, we will pass around the hat no more when we want men or money, but we will pass a law and send out force, so that when we want men we will take them out of the houses of the nation by compulsion.

New York of itself sent out one hundred and twenty thousand

volunteers. Now, look at the result of the draft for sixty-eight thousand men. They give you credit under that draft for twenty-one thousand men. How is this twenty-one thousand made up? Well, you are valued as being worth about three hundred dollars apiece, and of these twenty-one thousand men which have been rendered, twelve or thirteen thousand are three hundred dollar bills—not men of muscle and sinews ready to do service; and that act has not sent out from this State eight thousand men. I do not believe it has sent more than six thousand, and more than half of these are substitutes, which is another name for volunteers. So much for the centralization policy.

My reputation, you know, is bad enough. I have never defended myself. I have never even published the letters of the President and Secretary of War thanking me for what was done, until within a few days past it became necessary for me to do it to show what New York had done. What is it to me what men may say of my conduct in view of questions like these, while the destiny of a nation is at stake? In a few short years we shall be weighed in the opinion of Him who governs the world, and whose judgment is just and final; and what care I for men? I have never put forth a word in my own defence. With me life is nothing, and character is nothing, if I may do my duty in assisting to save this land from the perils that surround it.

Do our friends at Washington—for I have friends at Washington; for I have friends on both sides of the house, and the character of one is as good as that of the other—now ask us to raise our quota under the new call in the same manner as we implored them to do it before the draft? No; but they must humiliate us at the wheel of the presidential car. Now we are called upon for 108,000 men. It was given out in some quarters that our quota would be 38,000. I sent to Washington and learned that it is 108,000. We shall do our duty as we have done it heretofore. The charge is made that we are untrue to our country. Here, in your name, and in behalf of the Democratic party, I repel it as a foul imputation upon the patriotism of New York; as a foul libel upon what she has done; as a most unjust and ungenerous aspersion to be put forth by our fellow-men, who know that in every day's transactions we are as true as they are to all that is demanded by duty or patriotism.

Once more we say, what they do not say in their meetings, that we dedicate ourselves and all that we have, to the restoration of the Union and preservation of the Constitution. You are to decide the most momentous questions ever submitted to a people—questions that come home to each man of you in all the relationships of life. The mighty debt that is being rolled up is an encumbrance upon your property, and now equals one-fourth of the value of the whole property of the country. So far as it is necessary to spend for proper purposes, let it be poured forth; but if it is to gratify the theories of fanatics and bigoted men, we should express our disapproval of those theories that are mortgaging our lands. We are willing to sustain them in all constitutional purposes; we dedicate ourselves and all we have to the preservation of our country; but when they ask of us sacrifices for the purpose of trampling down the Constitution and destroying the great principles of liberty, then we must, at least, have the poor

privilege of raising our voices in terms of expostulation against a policy so fatal and ruinous.

We love that flag (pointing to the stars and stripes), with the whole love of our life; and every star that glitters on its blue field is sacred. And let me conclude with the sentiment of a citizen of another State, declaring that we will preserve the Constitution, we will preserve the Union, we will preserve our flag with every star that glitters upon it, and we will see to it that there is a State for every star.



Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting held at Utica, New York, Oct. 29, 1863.

The Calls for Troops—Discouraging Aspects of the Campaign—The Nation drifting toward Bankruptcy and Ruin—The true Patriotic Remedy—Republican and Democratic Loyalty Compared—The Policy of Conciliation and the Policy of Force Contrasted—Disastrous Consequences resulting from new Issues—Marvellous results of the Conscription—Its Unequal Effects—Efforts to avert it—Its Unequal Apportionment—Production of Drafting—Appeal for Volunteers to fill the State's Quota.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I come before you this night, because I think I have some things to say to you that concern you all, not alone in that broad and general sense with regard to which our distinguished friend has spoken so eloquently, that concern us as a people, but that concern our homes, concern us as individuals, concern women as well as men, that go to our very hearth-stones, and affect us in all the dearest interests of life. If I am honored to-night with the presence of one of my Republican friends, I beg that he will listen to me. I do not stand here to-night before my fellow-citizens of Utica to defend myself against unjust and ungenerous aspersions. So far as my own character is concerned, violently as it has been assailed, I leave it to you, as the witnesses, to determine upon it, and do not need to let it depend upon what I shall say in behalf of myself.

We have been engaged in a war now nearly three years. The American people have sent forth to serve the Government, or are called to send forth, thirteen hundred thousand men. What has become of them! There are half a million of new-made graves in the land, and the county of Oneida and the city of Utica have their sad and solemn representatives in those funereal abodes.

You are called upon now to give your quota of six hundred thousand more. Now, after our country already in this contest has responded to so many calls of the Government; after the people have given up from their homes their fathers, brothers, husbands, sons; in view of the vast sacrifices the nation has made of life and blood and treasure;—I ask you if we should not at a time like this come together in an earnest and patriotic spirit to determine what can be done to save our country. What can be done to stop this vast waste of life,

and treasure, and all that we hold dear? I said that calls are made now for six hundred thousand more men. We were told at the outset of this contest that seventy-five thousand men were sufficient, and then calls were made for three hundred thousand, and yet again for three hundred thousand. They have gone on until at this time the demands made by our Government amount to thirteen hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Where are they? I have learned from the experience of the office which I now hold, and from the inquiries that I have made of others who have had perhaps a better opportunity to learn the facts than myself, that in the course of twelve months one-half of them are wasted away. If one year ago the armies of the United States numbered seven hundred thousand men, then it is now made perfectly clear by the experience of the year, by a critical scrutiny of the results, that they have wasted away in the average of one thousand men per day; so that now the vast array that was then marshalled of seven hundred thousand men, is now reduced to less than three hundred and fifty thousand. We have thus ascertained that each band of men that we send out wastes away in the ratio of one-half in the course of twelve months. Now, if these six hundred thousand more men, which are called for, should be sent into the field, even if this war should be brought to an end in twelve months, in that time three hundred thousand of these will not be found in the ranks of our armies. I do not say that they will fall upon the battle-field, though you know, alas! that many of them will pour out their blood there. I do not say that all will sicken and die in the hospitals, far away from friends and the endearments of home, though you know that many of them will come to this sad fate. Many will return to their homes again, some with disease fastened upon them which will affect them during the painful course of their lives; some with the loss of limbs or physical disfigurement that will render them unable to pursue the ordinary avocations to which they have been accustomed; some will return, perchance, in the full enjoyment of bodily health; but this will be the result of another year of war.

I doubt, as I have said, if there are now three hundred thousand men in our armies who are able to take the field in order to carry on the battles of our nation. In every quarter we are on the defensive. We tremble for the fate of the Army of the Cumberland. The Army of the Potomac to-day advances and to-morrow retreats, and we look to its movements with the most painful solicitude. Look along the whole margin of the war, along the line that divides the North and South, along the whole course of the Mississippi, and we are merely holding our own ground or attempting to regain that which we have once held, except in the single instance of the siege of Charleston, where we are attempting by our navy to batter down a place particularly offensive to the public mind, but where there is no attempt made to take permanent military possession, and where the armies of our generals would not dare to land, because of the fear of being overwhelmed by superior force. Therefore it is, that the President of the United States, a few days since, came out with a proclamation for three hundred thousand men, and that, too, while acting under the conscription law, he had already made a demand upon this people for more than three hundred thousand. This shows the

critical condition in which we stand to-day as a people. As I have said, you see the wasting consequences of the war. No man can fail to see, however blinded by prejudice or infatuated by passion, that this cannot go on indefinitely without ruining us as a nation, and carrying misery, and desolation, and death to our homes. Every day brings us nearer to this result, and nearer to the condition where all men agree that we must be plunged in bankruptcy if we reach it. All men agree that straight in our pathway are these two great calamities, to which we are moving steadily and swiftly. We are like a man who floats down Niagara river above its great cataract. He may be to-day at a safe distance, but if he floats idly on and allows the time to pass by when he can reach the margin in safety, he will find himself at last in sight of that mighty cataract whose name is famous through the world, and within the swift vortex of its waters, which will overwhelm him in utter destruction. So with our nation; unless we put forth every exertion, not only of material power but of wise statesmanship, of Christian consideration, of patriotic sacrifice of passion and prejudice, we too shall find, alas! too late, that the period is past when we can rescue ourselves from the dangers that lie in our course.

Then what are we to do? That is the problem that we must meet. I am willing for the time being to overlook the past. I will leave out of view the wrong that has been done to you and me in the impeachment of our motives. I will leave out of view the lack of wisdom, and patriotism, and Christian charity, which plunged us into this war, which never would or could have occurred if we had been true to ourselves and our country. I leave out of view all the invasions of home, the trampling upon the laws and the Constitution; let the curtain fall over the past, and leave it to the future to sit in judgment over its shortcomings. But now, in this extreme hour of our country's peril, let us confront the difficulties that lie in our way; let us counsel as patriots, and see how we can save our country, our homes, our National honor.

I have attempted to show you where we are. There is but one proposition left: how are we to bring this war to a successful and honorable conclusion, before we are swept into National ruin? We agree with others that we will put forth every material power to save our country. We say to our Republican friends, "We will go with you in every effort which it becomes a people situated as we are to make. We recognize the necessity of our position, and so far agree with you." Now, here comes a point of disagreement. Our friends on the other side of the house say that we are not as true as they are to the country, and have not as much at heart its welfare and honor. They say that they will do no more than this—that force, and force alone, shall be used for the purpose of restoring our Union. They tell you, in the language of the Senator from Massachusetts, who stood upon these boards a few days since: "We demand subjugation; yes, that is the word—subjugation!" It is not the restoration of the Constitution that they desire.

Five or six weeks ago, when we had achieved signal victories, we asked the President to do that which every dictate of magnanimity, generosity, and true patriotism, called upon him to do. He did not heed the request or warnings, and the war was allowed to go on, until now the aspect of public affairs is materially changed. Why

did they not consent to try the policy of conciliation? It was because, as they declare in words, and still more plainly in their acts, that their object is not alone the restoration of the Constitution and Union. We are doing more than our Republican friends. We are giving every effort of material force, and we are adding our influence to induce the people of the South to return to the Union; we are exerting more than mere material force. No man rates higher than I do the services of our armies in the field; no man has more undoubted faith in their courage and patriotism; no man is impressed more than I am with the magnificence of war, of its martial array, and its terrible engines of strength. But strong as it is, powerful as it is in all its aspects, I tell you, my friends, that there is something more powerful than ordnance; there are influences higher, broader, and more glorious than have ever yet been found upon the battlefield; and that is, the great and magnanimous spirit that seeks to restore our country to its former glory, to its former union, by the exercise of statesmanship, conciliation, and charity. He who says that force, and force alone, is the most potential agency to be used in this war, does not know those influences which control nations as well as individuals.

But we differ from them in another matter. That party which interposes any obstacle to the successful termination of this war, is, in fact, as injurious in his acts as he who would withhold any strength in its prosecution. We complain that those who have the administration of affairs in their hands have interposed obstacles in the way of the conclusion of the war, by adding to its original objects purposes which are utterly unattainable. In every contest that man is the most likely to succeed, who proposes for himself that which is attainable, that which is right. Every man knows that when this war was conducted for a purpose in which all concurred, we had a united North, and we had as our enemies a divided South. Every man knows that at that time, throughout the length and breadth of the seceded rebellious States, there were hundreds and thousands of hearts that yet beat true to the flag of our country, and the principles of our Constitution. We were then more powerful than now, for these very reasons. The Government had not only declared by the presidential declaration, but by the unanimous vote of Congress, that this war was to be waged alone to reassert the Constitution. Under this solemn pledge all men were united in carrying on the contest. All gave their contributions of men and money, and for a time the voice of party seemed to be hushed. But the Republican party proclaimed emancipation, confiscation, and the destruction of the States, and the purposes of the war changed. They grew haughty with the power the nation had given them. Then they said, by their actions, as in terms it was expressed to me, that they did not intend hereafter to ask for the contributions of the people, to pass around the hat when they wanted men or money; they had the power to take them by force. I warned them against this course. If I had been a partisan I would have held my peace; if I had desired a party triumph I would have uttered no word of expostulation. But I thought I saw then what all see now, that such action was not going to endanger so much the rights of the States as it would endanger the power and dignity of the Federal Government. I urged, and urged in vain, that we might be allowed to send up our

contributions voluntarily ; I tried to show them the difficulty of forcing people to do that which they were reluctant to do. This reluctance was no party question. It is a remarkable fact that men under forty-five and over twenty suddenly experienced very bad health, and became afflicted with all the ills that flesh is heir to, while people over forty-five and under twenty continued in their physical condition. And I find that the Republicans are as ingenious in finding their bodily ailments as other people. Your land swarms with official provost-marshals, deputy-marshals and enrolling officers. The army was sent for, force was threatened in response to the least opposition, laws were passed inflicting heavy penalties upon any one who should resist the draft. Yet what has been the result ? Up to this time the draft has not sent eight thousand men from this State to fill the ranks of our armies, and in the meanwhile the State of New York, by carrying on volunteering, since the first day of January last, has enlisted more than sixteen thousand men. Now I ask, was the draft a success or a failure ? Do the facts show strength or weakness ? Was that wisdom that said we will make ourselves strong by grasping jurisdiction, and not exercise that power which would be an advantage to themselves and an honor to their country ? But there are some that say the Government got a great deal of money by the draft. Well, the Government can make money easily enough as long as it has paper and printing-presses. But the Government has the power to draw a vast deal of money from the people by taxation, as they will soon learn to their cost. But it is material to the interests of the country how this money is taken. Let it be just and equal upon all classes. Was there no wrong done when they entered a young man's house and took from him the first three hundred dollars which he was ever able to earn ? which was laid up to be the foundation of a future fortune, the beginning of a future estate ! We know how hard it is in the affairs of life to make the first little accumulation of money, and beyond that the task becomes comparatively easy. The Government laid its hand unequally and heavily upon the poorer classes. Perhaps there was another man who, through a long life of toil, had laid aside a pittance for old age, and the last dollar was taken from him to secure the freedom of his son, whose presence was necessary to his comfort and his happiness. The rich man put his hand in his pocket and paid the money easily and carelessly. Was that a success which wrung money unequally from the rich and the poor ? If we must have taxation, let it come ; but in God's name let it fall equally and fairly, according to the proportion of property, upon the wealth and labor of the land. How lightly do men talk of these things ! How indifferently have you heard it said they got a good deal of money by the draft. Money itself may be a worthless thing, but there are relationships, connected with it which affect us so deeply as to make it sacred to us. They might better have drawn a hundred millions of dollars from the community by fair taxation than ten millions by this unjust method which has brought so much distress and ruin.

You see the effect of Government undertaking to violate the laws of its own existence. I implored the President of the United States, in a communication entirely respectful and most earnest in its character, to allow us to make voluntary contributions of men. I was told they lacked time. Under what circumstances ? We had sent, in

response to their call, sixteen thousand troops to Pennsylvania in a shorter time than perhaps history records a similar act; and it is not too much to say, when we remember in what even balance the victory hung, that the influence of the presence of New York soldiers, cheered the men who were fighting that terrible battle, and perhaps turned the victory at last in our favor. And, after we had done this, when we asked to be allowed to raise volunteers to save the State the humiliation of a conscription, they coldly turned round, and said there was no time to allow it. Why, there was time for New Jersey and every Western State. Why is the draft postponed in Wisconsin till after this election? Why has this great wrong been done to the State of New York? I asked for justice and fairness in this draft. I asked that the enrolment lists should be opened to the public, so that all could see that they were complete and correct. I asked that the people might have an opportunity to satisfy themselves that all the names were put in the box. It was denied me. There was a continued effort to disparage the services of this State. I could never get a Republican paper to admit that we had raised sixteen thousand volunteers since the first of last January, although they can ascertain it from the books; but they call it three or four thousand. I thought our own people, at least, ought to be just to their own State, and be proud to claim this honor for the great and glorious State of New York, that was not and never has been behindhand in any work of patriotism. Taking those sent when Pennsylvania was invaded, and what we have sent lately, it makes something like 35,000 men. I believe that New York has sent more men for the service of the country since last January than all the other States in the Union. She has responded most nobly to three calls, and while I have nothing to say for myself, I *will* speak for our glorious State, and with deep regret I speak it, our Republican friends do not seem willing to do that credit to the State which belongs to her. I ask them to do as much, namely, to stand up and exert their influence in these matters of common interest to strengthen our Government in these times of peril, for this is the hour of greatest peril. This demand of the Government for men is not made without an urgent necessity. It is only manly and truthful to confront real dangers. You will find in the *Utica Observer*, to-night, a copy of the letter which I received from the Provost-Marshal-General. It was given out to the press through some mysterious agency that the quota of New York would be thirty-eight thousand. I received a letter dated October 21, stating that this was the quota; and two or three days after, received another letter, bearing the same date, which seemed to have been a good while coming, and which gave the amount of men required from New York as one hundred and eight thousand. The first statement got into the telegraphic dispatches somehow. I telegraphed to know which statement was true, and received the answer that one hundred and eight thousand was the correct quota, and there was some mistake in the first letter—a very remarkable mistake, to say the least. The call which is now made, amounts virtually to six hundred thousand men.

Under the act of last Congress they made a demand for three hundred thousand men. The quota of this State was something like seventy-five thousand men. They gave no credit for men furnished in excess of previous calls, of perhaps six or eight thousand. That

left a demand upon us for sixty-eight thousand men. Under the arrangements of the Government, there have been furnished by substitutes and commutation what goes to our credit for about twenty-one thousand men. Of this number I believe only about six or seven thousand men have been given to the service of our country; the residue has been made up by the payment of three hundred dollars, which is received in lieu of the services of a man. In addition, the President has called for three hundred thousand more men. Our quota is stated at about sixty thousand three years' men. And more, we must make up the deficiency of the draft; that is one hundred and eight thousand men, at the least, New York must furnish before the fifth of January next, or we are to be subjected to another draft. To fill up the call that has been made, and save the necessity of the draft, I call upon our Republican friends to aid us at this time, in seeing that justice is done to our State. One hundred and eight thousand men must be furnished before the fifth of January next. Perchance from the home of the widow may be taken her only son, or from the old man may be taken his last dollar, that he may redeem his son for his comfort, his happiness, his life. One hundred and eight thousand homes to be made unhappy. These one hundred and eight thousand are somebody's brothers, somebody's husbands, somebody's sons.

I have told you that we, in order to save you from these calamities, are struggling to bring this war to a successful and honorable close. We say we are loyal. Now for the test. We call upon you all to fill the thinned ranks of our armies, to go forth as freemen, but not to go forth as manacled slaves. We say, do something more than this. Go not only with martial power, but add all the wisdom of statesmanship and the powers of conciliation. It is not, my friends, that we would use less powerful means to save our country, but that we would use more. The teachings of political men, and of all men, are that, when we are engaged in a contest like the present, the first moment when we can terminate it honorably, it is every way desirable to do so. We are waging this war for a purpose which is definite and attainable, while they are waging it for purposes which are unattainable and indefinite.

I believe, my friends, we are to triumph in this election in the State of New York. I have hope that the momentous issues which are before us are understood. I believe that the people of New York will rebuke a policy that, with every victory, rises in its demands and brings forward new and revolutionary issues for which to prolong the war. The people have a right to demand that the nation keeps its faith, and that the pledges made at the commencement be adhered to. They have a right to demand that we shall not be plunged into a war for objects which shall make this land of ours a perpetual scene of bloodshed, violence and strife. My friends, may God grant that when this war is ended, we shall have a restored Union, a restored Constitution; that we shall have restored fraternal regard in all parts of the country, and that we shall look over it all with pleasure, exclaiming in a spirit of proud patriotism: "This is my own proud native land in all its length and breadth, and they who dwell upon it are my brethren. I wish them well in God's name." We are called upon, not to say that ten stars shall be torn from the National flag, and ten States driven back to a territorial condition, but to pray rather that every star shall continue to glitter there, and every star shall represent a State.

Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting, held at the Cooper Institute, New York, October 31, 1863.

The Demand for Troops—Total Number called for—Waste of Life in the War—Tendency to National Bankruptcy and Ruin—The Questions of the Day—Why the North is divided—The Democracy opposed to Emancipation—Subjugation demanded by the Republicans—Attitude of the two Political Parties—Advantages of the Democratic Policy—A speedy Termination of the War demanded—The Policy of Conciliation—Peace otherwise secured no Peace—Cost of the Radical Policy—Radical Policy inconsistent with National Honor—Prolongation of the War means Repudiation—The Danger of new Issues—A strong Government illustrated—Historical Review of the formation of the National Government—Senatorial Usurpations—Unequal Political Power of New England—Defence of the Military Record of New York—The Draft Controversy—The New York Democracy and the pending Election.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—When I was invited to address my fellow-citizens in this condition of public affairs, I felt myself compelled to respond to that invitation. I feel that our country is in extreme peril, and I feel that it is the right and the duty of every man at this moment to stand forth and do what he can to save the rights and liberties of the American people. Upon a recent occasion, when the President of the United States addressed an assemblage of his political friends, he said he knew of nothing in the Constitution that forbid him from so doing. On my part, I can find much in the Constitution of our country, and the genius of our institutions, that makes it the duty of every official, at times like these, to stand forth and speak plainly with regard to public affairs.

One year ago I addressed a vast assemblage like this in this very room. What has transpired since that time? Then the people of these United States, in response to an appeal which was made to them by its Government, had just sent up six hundred thousand men to fill the armies of the Union. At that time we had a right to expect, before twelve months should have passed away, that we should have reached an end to the sad war which has carried desolation over our land and mourning into its homes. Since the beginning of this war the Administration has, at different times, called upon the people formally for nearly fourteen hundred thousand men. We are advised that this call was more than responded to, for we are told that the Northwestern States had, under the call made by the conscription act, large credits which were to be deducted from the amount which they were to furnish under that act of Congress. Under the conscription law itself, in addition to the thirteen hundred and seventy-five thousand men that at different times have been called into the service, a demand was made for more than three hundred thousand more. I mean by this that, taking into account the surplus which had been furnished by the Western States, and the demand made upon the Atlantic States, it would swell the calls made upon this people up to seventeen hundred thousand men. Within the last few weeks the President, in addition to that, has called for three hundred thousand more, making a total of two millions of men who have been

demanding thus far in the progress of this war, more than fourteen hundred thousand of whom have gone forth to the battle-field.

When I addressed you one year ago the armies of this Union exceeded seven hundred thousand in numbers, and we are told by the President in his proclamation, and it is well known to every intelligent man in this land, that our forces are insufficient for the purpose of putting down the rebellion; and now another additional call is made upon you, which, as I said before, counting the numbers contemplated by the conscription act, and counting in those that are demanded by the President, will amount to nearly six hundred thousand men.

The experience of this war has shown that every year wastes one half of our armies. This is now well ascertained. It is ascertained from every source where inquiry has been made; it is our experience in this State; it is the experience of other States; it is a result which we have ascertained so accurately and precisely that we can now lay it down as a rule that every twelve months wastes one half of our armies. And when again our army shall have increased to seven hundred thousand men, or when, as a year ago, it numbered seven hundred thousand men, each day diminishes its numbers by one thousand. I do not say that all of these fell upon the battle-field; I do not say that they all languished and died in hospitals. I know many of them returned to their homes; I know that their fates vary; but what I do mean to say is this, that they were lost to the armies of our country for the time being at least.

Now, in view of this monstrous waste of human life, and in view of another fact, that when this war began we were a people free from debt and comparatively free from taxation, we find ourselves to-day burdened with a debt which is variously estimated to be from fifteen hundred millions to two thousand millions of dollars. Now, in view of this result, and in view of the fact that the war is not yet ended, I stand before you this night to address to you some considerations which seem to be of the utmost public importance; nay more, considerations which do not merely concern us as a nation in our relationships to the nation, but which concern every man within the sound of my voice in his own person, affecting his property, affecting his home, affecting all the dearest and most important relationships of life.

Now, however we may differ about other things, one thing all men must agree to, that there is an amount of debt which will lead to National bankruptcy. One man may fix the sum at two thousand millions, another at three, or another, perchance more sanguine, at four thousand millions; but all men, I care not what their political views may be, whether they are Democrats or whether they are Republicans, agree in this—that there is an amount of public indebtedness, which, when it is once created, will be beyond the ability of this people to pay. But more than that: in view of what I have already stated to you we all agree in another proposition, whatever our political views may be, that a continuance of this war will involve us in National ruin; for when I tell you what has been the waste heretofore, every man will agree that there will be a time—one may say a year from this, or another two, or another, perchance, three years; but we all agree in this—that there is in the pathway

on which we are travelling a point of time, which, if we reach it, if we do not save our Union and reach an honorable peace before we reach that point of time, we will be involved in National ruin.

Now bear these two points in view upon which we are all agreed. What, then, is the problem that we are compelled to solve? It is upon this that I mean to speak to-night. I will forget the past. I will overlook all the wrongs that have been done to the great patriotic, conservative Democratic party of our land. I will forget whatever of personal injustice may have been done to myself. I say, for the time being, let the curtain fall over the past, and we will leave its transactions and events to the judgment of a dispassionate future; and now at this time let us come forward, and plainly, fairly, and honestly, confront the questions of the day. Our country is in imminent peril. As I said before, if we continue on with this war without bringing it to a timely and successful conclusion, we are of necessity to be overwhelmed with bankruptcy, National ruin, social anarchy, and disorder. How, then, is this to be done?

Now we are agreed on all hands upon another point, Republican and Democrat alike, and that is, that our Union must be saved! our Constitution must be upheld! I say upon this point all are agreed—Republican and Democrat alike. I say that because I am in mood in this sad and mournful hour of our country's distress to indulge in no harsh remark toward my political opponents. Yet I was mortified when I heard that the Vice-President of these United States, perhaps in this very room, declared that he supposed "there were men in this State who want the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is, but they cannot have it." I tell the Vice-President we will have it. Then we are seeking on all hands to bring this war to a successful result before, in the progress of time and events, we are overwhelmed with financial destruction and National ruin. Shall it be done? That is the question before us. That is the question which we ought to confront, and, if possible, solve at this time, before we deposit our votes in the ballot-box. The proposition which I have stated, and which no man will gainsay, makes another thing clear every day that rolls on. This expenditure, this waste of blood and treasure, brings us still nearer to the calamities to which I have alluded.

I have stated wherein men of all parties substantially agree. Now, wherein are we divided? Why are we thus divided in opinion? Why, at this moment in our country's peril, is the public mind agitated by contention and by strife? It is this: We declare that we battle for the restoration of our Union—for the preservation of our Constitution. We say that this war should be waged for that purpose and that purpose alone. Now, the radical portion of the Republican party say more than this—that this war must be carried on, not merely for the restoration of the Union, not merely to restore the jurisdiction of your Constitution, but it must be carried on, as they say, to root out what they assume to be the cause of the war,—the institution of slavery. Against that we protested, because it was deviating from that policy which was arrived at at the outset, declared with all solemnity by the President of the United States, and asserted by the unanimous vote of Congress.

But this is not all. The radical portion of the Republican party,

whose policy has prevailed in that party up to this time, declares now still another thing: that this war must go on until the people of the South and the Southern States are subjugated; that ten States shall be trampled out of existence, shall be reduced to a territorial condition, and, to use the language of a Senator from New England, they demand subjugation. He said subjugation—that is the term.

Now, then, what is the attitude of the two parties? We, on our part, combat for that upon which the Northern mind is united: the restoration of our Union and the support of our Constitution, bringing our people back to the condition they were in before this unhappy war broke out. Now we are contending for that which is most easily attained, because upon that point we are a united people—most easily attained, because once declared before the whole world that such is the purpose of the Government, and you would have not only a united North, but a divided South. I tell you there are hundreds of thousands at the South—nay, more, I believe that at this hour a majority of the Southern people, if they could return once again within the fold of this Union, and feel themselves protected by its Constitution, would again come back to their allegiance, and the blessings of peace would be again restored to a distracted land. Now, no man, I care not what his political views may be, will deny this proposition, that it is more easy to bring this war to a successful result, by making it a war for the restoration of the Union and for the support of the Constitution, than by making it a war for subjugation, by making it a war that designs to trample out the rights and lives of States, by making it a war that substantially must change and modify the whole nature of our national institutions. There is no man who will deny that upon this point we are more united. We agree upon this. There is no man who can deny that upon this point we could rally to our standard thousands of those who now stand in armed resistance against the Government, because they fear the policy they will pursue, when they declare it is not the purpose of this Government to restore the Union as it was, or that would protect the Constitution in all its terms. There we have this advantage over our opponents. We are contending for that which may be reached most easily and in the shortest space of time. We are contending for that which may be attained with the smallest waste of treasure. We are contending for that which may be reached with the least possible waste of blood and the lives of the American people.

Now, then, there is no fair-minded man who will stand up and say that it is as easy to subjugate the South as it is to consolidate the South. There is not a fair-minded man who will for a moment contend that it is not more difficult, more expensive, more uncertain, when we attempt what has been rarely accomplished in the history of the world, when we attempt to subjugate the people of the South, to reduce them to an abject condition, and to dictate to them the conditions under which they shall exist; and the more especially when the declaration goes out expressive of extreme antipathy and hatred. We all agree to this, that the continuance of the war will bring National bankruptcy upon us. We all agree in this, that the continuance of the war is a waste of National life, a waste of the blood of our people, that it destroys labor, and drives men away from home, and not unfrequently drives them to other lands; that the prolongation

of the war beyond a certain period of time brings National ruin. We of the Democratic party are in favor of stopping the war at the earliest moment of time; in favor of whatever measure is calculated to bring it to a successful result; while, on the other hand, it is clear to the apprehension of every man—of those who would go further, those who would prolong the war for the purposes of subjugation, of carrying out the theory of centralization of government—are those who are increasing the list of calamities to which I have alluded, are those who bring us nearer and nearer to the fatal abyss into which we must be precipitated, unless, in some timely moment, we bring the war to a just, proper, and honorable conclusion. It is clear to the mind of all who are contending for that which is most easily attained, that we, as a party, are pursuing a policy vastly more secure, vastly more safe, and far more calculated to preserve us from the evils to which I have alluded.

This nation is like a man floating above the falls of the Niagara river—above the mighty cataract itself; and while he is yet at a safe distance, or can save himself from the flood which will carry him to destruction, he does not avail himself of the means of escape that may be within his reach, and he goes nearer, and nearer, and still nearer, till at length he finds himself beyond the influences which might have saved him, and he is overwhelmed beneath the flood when it is too late for him to withdraw himself from the calamity which must terminate his existence. We are not only contending for that which is most attainable, but for that which is most valuable. It may be said that although we admit in asking more than they ask in making further issues—in going for subjugation and centralization, in changing the character of the war—we ask what may be more difficult to attain; yet, when reached, will be worth all the cost of blood and treasure now spent. Let us look to this, for it is the true answer. Listen to me for a moment. If the war is brought to an honorable conclusion; if we can bring those, by force of arms, and statesmanship, and conciliation, now in resistance to the Government, to return to their allegiance—when we have brought them to us by these terms—we have a basis indeed, when we have brought them to this state of mind, and they will be content to remain in the full enjoyment of their constitutional rights.

Now I assert that the people of the North are as deeply interested in preserving the constitutional rights of the South as the people of the South themselves are. You can have no peace in the land while one-third of the people feel themselves wronged, and injured, and trampled upon. Every man knows you can have no peace in the land unless all the people stand on the same platform as regards their constitutional rights and privileges, and enjoy equal terms in all respects with reference to the Government. But, on the other hand, suppose we spend more money, and blood, and treasure; suppose we encounter all the hazards of a prolonged war; suppose we are so fortunate, indeed so unfortunate, as as to be able to subjugate the South, what then? I tell you that such a peace as that is no peace in any sense of the term. Subjugation makes occupation necessary; it necessitates a waste of treasure; it keeps up the cost of the war; it demands the waste of blood, and treasure, and life of the people; for we all know that life is wasted on Southern soil—wasted under

the Southern sun in moments of inactivity, as well as active service. Such a peace, if not a mockery and a snare to call it a peace, means what? That the people of the North are to maintain great armies; to send forever their sons under one perpetual conscription to hold their brethren of the South in subjection.

If not conciliated, if not reconciled by generous treatment, what hope is there of peace? But what is the proposition? That they shall be held by military force at the expense of the life and treasure, aye, and at the end, at the expense of the liberties of the people of the North. What would be our resolve under like circumstances? What man would be so mad, who would dare to say, in the face of the people—if, perchance, it had been our sad misfortune to be brought in collision with the Government—that New York could be kept in the Union more easily and more securely by war and confiscation than by giving her her just rights, by conciliating her people, by restoring that love of Union and love of the Constitution which should ever dwell in the hearts of the American citizen? The great conservative party is contending for that which is most easily gained, that which can be reached with the least expense of life, and blood, and treasure. And, more than that, we are contending for that which, when gained, is far more valuable than the subjugation of American States.

I have told you what the cost of this war has been. Now, under the policy that has been declared by the radical leaders of the Republican party, when will that cost end? If, in addition, you prolong the contest, increasing its cost, you make peace itself—that kind of peace that they would have—almost as destructive as the active war in which we are engaged.

Now, we object further to the policy of the radical Republicans, and those who control that party. They are not only attempting to gain that which we believe to be unattainable—not only attempting to waste more blood and more treasure—but they are not bringing to bear upon the contest something which is as great an instrumentality to secure success as war. They say in this hour of our country's peril, when we are now engaged in this war—when everything hangs, if you please, on the events of the battle-field—that they would put forth the exertion of every material power, and so do we. We will go with them in that, but we will do more than that. There they stop, and say, "Force, force alone." Here we say we would superadd to force the power of conciliation. We would have wise statesmanship, we would have a liberal patriotism and an enlarged philanthropy that, rising above passion and above prejudice, should honestly and thoughtfully seek out the real good of the whole American people. Is there no power in this beyond the mere force of arms? No man is more impressed than I am with all the magnificence of battle's array; no man has been more impressed than I have been with our magnificent army, as I have seen them pass by me in vast numbers, with all the material strength they displayed—young men in the prime of life, full of vigor, full of ambition, full of daring courage; but high as I rank the armies of my country, much as I admire their bravery, their daring, their patriotism, he has but an infirm mind who does not know that there are powers and influences greater than that of material strength. Is not wisdom more than strength? Is not virtue more than mere mus-

cular power? Is not the wisdom, is not the Christian charity, is not the earnest patriotism which at this time calls upon us to superadd something to the power of force, greater than even material force itself? Will the preacher in his pulpit—who, alas! too many times forgets the character of his own religion—dare to stand forth and say that force is better than Christianity? that force is better than wisdom? that force is greater than influences which are generous, and which should be exerted when they can be exerted consistently with honor and with the interests of our country? Now, we tell you to what end and for what object we would exercise all these influences—as I said before, to the restoration of our Union and to the preservation of our Constitution.

We stand, then, in comparison with our friends of the Republican organization, on the advantage ground in every respect. We contend for that which we can attain; we contend for that which is far better as a result than the one they seek; we contend for that which will not only show that as a people we are marshalled, and that we will make our history glorious by our deeds upon the battle-field, but we contend for that which will elevate us still higher in the estimation of the world, in our own estimation, and in that of all posterity, when we show that we are a people capable of magnanimous and generous action. But looking to this more closely, I contend that the Radical leaders are not only in this matter contending for that which they cannot reach—contending for that which is less valuable when attained, and contending for it at a fearful waste of life and of treasure, but they are doing that which is inconsistent with the nation's honor. Is there a man within the sound of my voice who believes that when Chase came here at the outset of this war to call upon the city of New York for its treasures, if he had told them what he declares to-day, that they would have ventured one dollar in such an enterprise as that? More than that, the proposition of subjugation contains within itself the proposition of repudiation and of constant conscription, because it is ill-faith toward the public creditor. It says to him: "We have now got your fifteen hundred millions of dollars; you have let us have it, trusting to the national honor and to the National wisdom." We understood that you meant to bring this war to a conclusion as soon as may be consistent with the purposes for which it was waged—for the Union and the Constitution; we supposed there was some significance in the unanimous declaration of Congress when they adopted the Crittenden compromise; we supposed there was some significance in the declaration of the President of the United States when he had taken upon himself the solemn oath of office to support the Constitution, and when he then declared that the only object of the war was to bring back the States again to their proper allegiance.

Now, every act that prolongs this war unnecessarily; every act that brings us nearer and still nearer any point of time, to which all concede we will reach if we continue in that pathway; every such act is an act of repudiation, and he who holds a Government bond, when he sustains such a policy as that, says by his vote: "I want more debt in addition to that which we have got." Will this community step forward and uphold a policy which has been declared here—that this war shall not stop when the Union is restored; that

this war shall not be waged for the purpose of maintaining our Constitution, but it shall be waged for other purposes, not merely to destroy the government of the States—they have got beyond that—for we have the bold declaration that it shall go on until it destroys ten States themselves. That is now the proposition openly made in this city, and openly approved by the radical leaders of the Republican party. It was declared by Sumner and by Chase, and it was declared in meetings held in the New England States. This rightfully calls out the indignation of the people, who embarked in this contest for the purpose of restoring the Union, and for the purpose of upholding our Constitution. Now, I beg all of you to think of these propositions which I have submitted to you; I beg of you to see if there is any escape from the conclusions that I have indicated.

But that is not all. The war is not waged alone for the definite purpose which I have mentioned, but for the present it is carried on for a certain purpose more indefinite than that. Why is it that the Northern mind is to-day distracted and perplexed? Why is it that we have not the community we had two years ago, when upon all hands it was said we were battling for the Union and battling for the Constitution? It is, that day after day we have new theories of government put forth, and we are now invited to plunge ourselves into the bottomless pit of discussion on questions touching our Government, which have been settled by eighty years' experience, and which, in truth, were settled by the plain letter of the Constitution, as it was written down by our fathers.

Why, we hear it said not unfrequently that one of the ends and objects of this war must be to make this Government strong and centralize power? I am willing that our National Government shall be made as strong as human heart and human skill and human wisdom can make it; but I deny that this Government is to be made strong by giving it a jurisdiction that it cannot exercise wisely and well. I insist upon it that the strength of this Government depends not alone upon the powers that have been given to it by the Constitution, but its strength, above all, depends upon the powers that are withheld from it by the Constitution. Now, our fathers meant, when they formed that Constitution, to teach us this: that the Government, to be strong, must be founded upon the affections of the people; that they must act in accordance with their will and wishes, to a proper extent.

Men at Washington fancied that legislation would give them power, and they have tried the experiment. Now, what have been its results? For I want to call your attention, not only to the evils of that system to our whole country, but more particularly to the evils which have been brought upon our own great State. As I told you, I have not one word to say in defence of myself. I do not care what may be thought of me in such a sad and solemn hour as this. No man lives who values the kindly regard and good opinion of all men more than I do. I love to have the affections of my neighbor, whatever party he may belong to; but at this moment, when the destinies of our country tremble in the scale, all personal passions are hushed and subdued within my heart, and I approach this question, not as a man who cares for man's judgment, but as one who, in a few brief years, is to give an account to Him who

reigns above us all. I pass by unnoticed ten thousand hasty words of reproach uttered against me; but I nevertheless cannot pass by attacks made upon this great and glorious State of ours. While I will not defend myself, I will defend the action of this State, embracing, as it does, the opinions of men of all parties; and I wish to view that in connection with the subject which I before alluded to, the evils of the centralization of power, the attempt now made in certain quarters to consolidate power in the General Government, because recitals of the wrongs of our State will serve to illustrate the views which I mean to put forth.

Why is it that when we have had victories we have had no policy such as victory demanded? Why is it, that in the whole progress of this war, there has never yet been put forth that which the common judgment and common sense of all mankind has ever demanded when nations will resort to the arbitrament of arms? What did our fathers say when they attempted to throw off the yoke of their allegiance? They declared that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, called upon them then to state their wrongs and their purposes. And yet it is most remarkable that in this war, unparalleled for its magnitude and its influence, from its beginning down to this time, there has never yet been put forth by this Government, except some broken promise, any distinct, clear enunciation of its policy, of the end which it meant to reach, and where it meant to stop. Why is it? I ask why is it? When we obtained such signal victories at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, all the world thought that this contest was to be terminated. We were elated with our victories, and those against whom we battled were depressed by their defeat. We called upon the Government at conventions at this moment, when every motive of magnanimity, honor, and patriotism demanded it, that they should come forth and offer terms to the other party, that should restore peace to the land; not peace to them alone, but peace to us; not peace alone to their homes, but peace and happiness to our own homes; not only to save their blood, but to save Northern blood. For the last three or four months you all know that a cloud has rested upon the North as well as the South; that labor has been cheerful when it did not know how soon it might be turned from its home and all those it loved to an involuntary service in the distant battlefield. We asked that some great and generous policy should be put forth, but our prayers were then unheeded. Why is that? Why is it that this war is so strangely prolonged? Why is it that in detriment and injury to the rights of the people it still rolls on? You may judge for yourselves. Every man who is in favor of centralization, every man who is in favor of consolidation, finds a motive in the views for the continuation of this war—for it is by the virtue of arms and armed force that power is consolidated and centralized at the seat of government.

The doctrine of consolidation and centralization is of itself full of civil war, and full of disorder and revolution. It is now proposed to strike out of existence ten States—ten States with a very large population—to deprive them of their representation in Congress until the party in power may see fit to restore them to their rights again. Look at our Constitution. It was never designed that the General Government should have these vast powers. It was never designed

that it should have the power to destroy the life of the States. What would be the inevitable consequence? New York, ever patriotic, ever generous, ever true, when this Constitution was formed, came forward and said it wanted to preserve the States, the lives of the States, and the rights of the States. She wanted not to preserve the rights of the States alone, but that the General Government should not overleap its proper limits. Although at this time New York was one of the largest States of the Union, and was destined to be the foremost State of the Union, yet she declared in the convention that every State, in both branches of the legislative department, should have no more power than was given to the smallest State of this confederacy; but when in the end it was adjusted by allowing State representation in the Senate, and popular representation in the House of Representatives, the delegates from the State of New York withdrew from that convention, because they declared that it was a blow at the rights of the State to which they could not consent. But, notwithstanding, we did consent to this compromise, and gave to New England, with less population than New York, six times our voice in the Government—a power that is now used for the purpose of injuring and ruining it.

I tell you that a government thus constituted was never intended to exercise all the franchises which you would now heap upon it. The change which it has undergone has revolutionized the character of the Government. The Senate of the United States is absorbing the power of the Government. Why, the President of the United States does not appoint the principal officers of the State. He cannot appoint his own cabinet ministers. He cannot make for us a brigadier-general without the help of the Senate. He is powerless without the co-operation of the Senate. Then the Senate controls the Executive; but, more than that, the Senate, being substantially the appointing power, and holding its term of office for six years, controls the House of Representatives. In that branch of the Government we find that the State of New York has less than one-sixth, in proportion to the population, of the power that the New England States have. Now, heretofore we had the balance between the Northern and Southern States—we had something to protect us. The Southern were smaller States, and they did not always agree with the Northern States. New York was commercial, New England was manufacturing; the Southern States wanted both manufactures and commerce, and thus situated, all went well;—we became a great and prosperous people. But now these gentlemen, who have six times our power, coolly come to New York and say, We will destroy this balance. The practical result in the workings of our Government is dangerous and injurious to us.

This is not mere speculation. Let us see what practical results have done. You all know that power will exercise itself. We all know that the twelve senators from New England, who look out for their respective States, have six times the power of the two senators from New York. I have no doubt that our senators do all they can to protect our rights. Nothing was more material than when we waged this war, and troops were drawn from the different States by quotas, that those quotas should be fairly adjusted. But, more than that, when Congress declared that we should have a lottery for life

and death, I appeal to every man within the sound of my voice, if it was not of vital consequence that such transaction should be equal, fair, and just. Let me call your attention to certain facts which are important to us, because they not only exhibit a great wrong, but they also expose the tendency to centralization, upon which it is important that the minds of the American people should be aroused.

I found when I came into power that New York had furnished more than its quota of men, and had sent more than its share of forces into the field. The North-western States had done the same thing. They were in advance of New York. The North-eastern States were a little more patriotic in expression than we. You well know that there had been recruiting offices for New England in your city during the last two years. Now, we wanted to know how the account stood. It has never been fairly stated how many men these different States have sent—how the quota was made up. Under the conscription act New York was called upon for sixty-eight thousand. We were told in fixing the number at that amount that the proper credit to which we were entitled had been given. When the draft was about to be made notices were sent to me showing the enrolment in the different Congressional districts here. When these returns were sent to me from time to time, I discovered that there was great inequality; that in one district in Brooklyn they called for five thousand, one in this city where they called for nearly five thousand, and one in the interior of the State where they called for fifteen or seventeen hundred. I called the attention of the Government to this thing; I endeavored to have justice done. I had a correspondence with the President upon this subject—called by our friends upon the other side a very disorganizing correspondence. Why did they publish it? I never did so. If there was anything in that correspondence calculated to excite the popular mind, or distract it, the guilt of its publication does not belong to me. The correspondence was most respectful in its terms, most honest in its purpose, because I wanted that justice should be done between the different districts. I asked that inquiry should be made as to this difference in the draft. I asked another thing, and I never met a man who did not say that it was fair, and that was this: I sent to Washington and asked when the enrolment was made that it should be put up in some conspicuous place. That is the habit in regard to the census. It is put up all over the country. Why, when this enrolment was made out, slips might have been printed at a trifling expense and placed in conspicuous places, wherever men could see them. Another thing, I never met the man who would not say that some fair system should be devised by which every man should be known whose name was to be submitted to the wheel of fate. It was so done in certain districts, in others it was not done. But in no instance was an order sent forth to know that these things were fairly tried, and the names of citizens were fairly drawn. I appeal to any one if in an ordinary transaction of life—in a lottery, for instance, of a horse, would not the parties interested take care to see that it was fairly drawn? and yet the most solemn transaction in life—the most solemn transaction in the history of the world—when somebody's son, somebody's brother, some poor woman's husband is drawn—a case in which some 68,000 persons would be made unhappy—surely in a transaction of that kind every thoughtful man would say, in God's

name let us have no complaints—no appearance of any injustice. That this was done we denied, and we were called bad men.

I soon began to discover that they were not only wrong in the congressional districts, but they were wrong in every way. I told you what New York had already done, and yet they told you that New York was deficient in her *quota*. Now, compare New York with Vermont. Vermont never furnished her proper number of men to the army, and yet in one of our congressional districts, Buffalo, there was a call issued for more conscripts than were called for in the whole State of Vermont. Whilst in all, or most of all of the other congressional districts there were deficiencies, New York gave a surplus average in the different congressional districts of twenty per cent. more than the New England States. Was that right or just? Why was this? I do not charge the Government that it meant to do you wrong; but I want to draw the lesson from the fact, and the most charitable conclusion I can come to is merely to show you the practical evils of centralization and consolidation on the representatives of the Government. The New England States have twelve Senators to elect, while New York, with a much larger population, elects two Senators; and New York, in like proportion, has given all to this war; and she has been wronged, not alone of treasure, but robbed of her citizens, and of the best blood of her sons—that which makes her great and glorious.

Our opponents say that they will not have the Constitution as it is, nor the Union as it was. And Vice-President Hamlin and others told you that we should not have the Union as it was. They do not tell you how it must be, but leave it all an uncertainty with the future. Look at New York, the great commercial metropolis of the country, made rich by the trade and commerce of the Western States. We act as the agents of other States, and grow rich and great and powerful. The trade and commerce reacts upon the country, and all prospers. Is it prudent or right to ask you to engage in revolution to bring round a consolidation and centralization of the Government? I do not want changes. I want New York to maintain her power. I am willing that little Rhode Island should stand forth as a State. I am willing that New England, with her ten thousand glorious memories, should have all her power; but I am not willing to have a central and consolidated power established in the Government. I am not willing to give a power that may be exercised to our detriment and to our destruction. No man who is a true friend to himself and the country will ever think of doing this. Every intelligent New Yorker must perceive such a system of consolidation and centralization must result in injury. It is said that centralization and consolidation would make the Government more powerful; but I deny the proposition, and I assert that the power of the General Government would be stronger resting on the Constitution than all the power it could employ by centralization. If you take a barrel you will find it is made strong and serviceable by the iron bands which bind it together. It is then of a certain capacity as a barrel, but if it should take it into its head to become a hogshead, with all its capacity, and to accomplish this should burst all its restraining bands and hoops, it would be neither a barrel nor a hogshead, but a bundle of staves. When the bonds which keep Government together are violated, when the restraining

checks are cast aside, when the influences which hold it together, making it useful and serviceable, are destroyed, you have destroyed the General Government itself.

A gentleman lately asked me if the General Government was not going to destroy the action of the States. I said no. Our States can live and will live in spite of all. You may roll over Ohio with your troops, you may insult Pennsylvania, but the Keystone State will be the Keystone State still; and Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and every other sovereign State, will live and exist in all their vigor and truth. But I said to these men, I do not fear for the States; but I do fear for the General Government itself. They said they were tired of handing round the hat, and begging contributions of the States. I reminded them that, with few exceptions, the people of the Northern States had given to the General Government an immense army, and that, at that moment, I believed that they stood at the head of a greater martial power than had ever been seen before in the history of the world. Whence did it come? From the men of the town, the school district, the country, and the city. Their sons came up to save our Union, and to battle for the flag of our country. These men were vested with that mighty power by all parties of the people, but they forgot whence it came. They said they would no longer consent to pass round the hat and the subscription-box, and they passed the conscription act. I begged them not to adopt that measure; I warned them of their folly; I implored them to allow us to go on and raise troops as heretofore; I pointed them to the proud history of New York, and what she had done for the country. But they would not listen. An enrolment was made, and the measure was attempted to be put in execution. After the sad events which had followed, I again appealed to the President to give time to raise the quota, and was told that in this city which, a few weeks before, had sent forth its sons to save this nation's life, protect Pennsylvania, and save the capital, this poor request could not be granted because there was not time. There was time enough given for every Western State, but there was no time for us in this State. None of them were called upon till after election. Not one of them had any surplus at the beginning of this draft.

Look at the attitude of New York. Let me tell you what the surplus has been. Not only had the surplus gone out this year which was produced by the energy of my predecessor, but since the first day of January last the State of New York has raised more than sixteen thousand volunteers—more than has been obtained by the draft. But beyond that there came a midnight cry of help. They asked me doubtfully and distrustfully when they made a call, whether, under the Constitution, they had a right to make it, whether I would do what I could to save the country. I responded at once and promptly, and I received their warmest thanks for doing it. I was urged to send at once, because it would give new spirit to the people of the other States. Then the army was not to be denied the little privilege. New York was to do what she did do—animate other States. What took place! The battle of Gettysburg—one of the most bloody that was ever fought on the face of the earth. For four long days did it rage, until at length it was decided by the withdrawal of our enemies, and the National capital was safe. Do you think that the sixteen

thousand that New York had sent forth could have been spared? They were not all upon the battle-field, but they occupied positions that relieved men who were there. They gave courage to the soldiers and alarmed the enemy. Now, I say it is not claiming too much for our own citizens—that the militiamen of the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and Rochester and Buffalo—who saved us that battle—with the volunteers that have gone forth (not drafted men) since the first day of January last—New York has sent to the field thirty-five thousand men, and I believe that that is a much greater number than has been sent by all the other States of the Union voluntarily. I do not know this to be the fact, but I believe it to be the truth.

Then, why should New York be denied the privilege accorded to all other States? Why should we be compelled to furnish an undue proportion of those who go forth and sacrifice their lives on the battle-field? But they say that the Administration has been hindered in the prosecution of the war by this State. I deny it, not alone in my own behalf, and in behalf of the Democratic party, but in behalf of the people of the State of New York—men of all parties and opinions. I believe that New York is the only State in this confederacy that, without regard to the draft, passed a law giving bounties at all times to those who enter the service of their country. The law was not passed by one party—it was the action of both. The last Legislature was equally divided. The Senate had a strong Republican majority, and the bill could not become a law unless I wrote “approved” at the bottom. Therefore, I do not speak for party. I do not speak for myself—except to have performed an obvious duty—but I do claim for this State, that its own citizens, its own journals, and its own orators, should not have been so untrue to it as not to have made these things felt through our land.

Thus we stand here, in these days, it seems to me, in a position clearly defined. On Tuesday next you must decide for yourselves. You may be holders of government securities, or if you are not you are taxpayers, and have a deep and vital interest as citizens in your relationship to the Government in bringing this war to a speedy and successful conclusion. You have a deep interest in the preservation of this Union. It must not perish. You have been the agents of the Union and the trustees of the Nation. I have come here from the country. I have been in the region west of the Mississippi, whence the humble, toiling farmer sends you his produce. As merchants, you are intrusted with the wealth of the Nation. Your ships are loaded and sent to other ports and other climes, to bring back the products of all nature in exchange. You enjoy these privileges as the result of the Union. We therefore contend for it, are willing to put forth resolution for its restoration, but demand that when it is gained, it shall not be lost again to gratify any fanatical or visionary theories. We say that, when the Constitution is restored, and the Union shall be saved, this war must stop. For that we will put forth every effort and energy; but when we have reached it, this war must close—must not go on merely to gratify visionary ideas. I appeal to you now, then, once more, if we are not contending for that which ought to satisfy all; if we are not contending for that which can be attained; if we are not taking the course which shall save our Nation from drifting on in the current which now leads us to National bank-

ruptcy and ruin? Then I appeal to you, Republican friends, if your leaders have not attempted throughout this State to establish the doctrine that this war must go on till the Southern States themselves are crushed out, and that they are to be held by military power; that your blood is to be poured out for this object; that you are to have a state of war followed by a state of confusion. You have to decide on these things with reference to your interests, with reference to the aims of government, and with reference to the awful calamities which will fall upon you if the war is prolonged, till at last we are overwhelmed in the great vortex of bankruptcy. I am hopeful. I cannot despair of the Republic. If men will not listen to reason, they must be taught by sad suffering. Whether the Union is to be gained now, or after all the suffering, I will never abandon the idea that it must be gained. No personal injustice, no insult, no wrong shall turn aside our steps one hair's-breadth from the straight pathway of duty. We will contend for the Union, and stand by the Constitution as our fathers framed it, and will maintain it. We will battle for the flag of our country in all its integrity, and to borrow the beautiful figure of another in another State (it is so apt that I use it on all such occasions), "When this war is over that blue field shall glitter with every star that glitters now, and every star shall represent a State."

Proclamation of Thanksgiving, 1863

IN accordance with the custom and laws of this State, I, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby designate Thursday, the 26th inst., to be a day of Thanksgiving and prayer, and I hereby declare the same to be a legal holiday. In the midst of calamity brought upon our country by the wickedness, folly, and crimes of men, we have reason to be thankful to Almighty God for abundant harvests, for exemption from pestilence, and for the preservation of our State from the devastations of war which afflict other sections of our land. Let us offer fervent prayers that the rebellion may be put down, our Union saved, our liberty preserved, and our Constitution and Government upheld. As a becoming proof of our thankfulness to God, and as a proper evidence of our gratitude to the army and navy, I urge our citizens to make contributions on that day for the comfort and support of the destitute families of those who have lost their lives, or have become disabled, in the service of our country.

In the midst of our abundance let us remember charity to those who are in want; and in the hour set apart for social and religious thanksgiving and praise within the limits of our State, let us encourage those who are engaged on distant and dangerous fields of duty, by showing sympathy and kindness toward their families which need our aid and support.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed the privy seal of the State, at the city of Albany, the 10th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1863.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

By the Governor: DANIEL F. TYLER, Private Sec.

Governor Seymour's Second Annual Message.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
ALBANY, January 5, 1864. }

TO THE LEGISLATURE:—During the past year the people of New York have had reason to be thankful to Almighty God for the blessings of health and abundance. Our mechanics have been actively employed, our farmers have been rewarded with generous returns for their labor. The benefactions of our State have been liberal to those suffering from want or infirmities.

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[Here follow allusions to local affairs.—EDITORS.]

STAFF REPORTS.

The annual reports of the members of my military staff will present much important statistical matter, as well as correspondence of interest. They embrace a detailed account of the number of volunteers raised, organization of militia, their service in Pennsylvania and Baltimore, condition of the State arsenals and armories, the fortified defences of the State, the details of the medical department, the relief afforded to sick and wounded soldiers, and other facts for your consideration.

The Bureau of Military Statistics is accomplishing the objects of its mission. Its collections embrace invaluable official and historical material, illustrating the part the State has taken in the war, biographies of volunteers, histories of regiments and other organizations, and an account of the aid afforded by towns, cities, and counties. No other State has so systematically entered upon the work of preserving these important records, so honorable to our people and so justly due to the brave men who are risking their lives, and those who are so munificently responding to the demands of the period.

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[Here follow remarks on educational affairs, finances, State prisons, banks, salt springs, the State canals, etc.—EDITORS.]

THE ENROLMENT AND THE DRAFT.

Congress, at its last session, passed an act for drafting citizens into the army. It wrought a change in the public feeling with regard to military service, and all, without respect to political views, tried to evade its operations. It has proved injurious to the civil, industrial, and military interests of the country.

I called the attention of the President of the United States to the inequality in the enrolment. The wrong was partially corrected by reducing the number called for in those districts where they were excessive to the average number in the other districts of the State. New York is required to furnish more than other States in proportion to its population. This is shown by the following tables :

The average ratio of enrolment to the male population in the Western States, is.....	19 per ct.
In New Jersey.....	20 "
In Pennsylvania.....	18½ "
In the New England States it is	17 "
In the State of New York it is	22 "
Massachusetts, with ten Congressmen and a population of 1,231,066, has to furnish, under the recent call for 300,000 men.....	15,126
The first nine Congressional districts of the State of New York, with a population of 1,218,949, are called upon for	25,166
Excess in nine Congressional districts in New York over ten Congressional districts in Massachusetts.....	10,040
The quota of Vermont and New Hampshire, with a united population of 641,171, and six Representatives in Congress, and four Senators, is...	7,099
The quota of two Congressional districts in New York, the 4th and 6th, with a population of 283,229, is.....	7,628

It is not claimed that this inequality grows out of any deficiency of volunteers heretofore furnished by this State.

Messrs. James A. Bell, O. C. Kellogg and Wm. H. Bogart, at my request, called the attention of the Secretary of War to this subject. He promptly appointed William F. Allen, of this State, John Love, of Indiana, and Chauncey Smith, of Massachusetts, a commission to determine upon some fair mode for correcting these glaring inequalities.

The quota of this State under the draft, after deducting credit on former calls, was sixty eight thousand men.

Number of conscripts examined.....	77,862
Number exempted for physical disability and other causes.....	53,109
Number who paid commutation	14,073
Number of substitutes obtained.....	6,619
Number of conscripts held to service.....	2,557

The failure of conscription, in comparison with volunteering, is shown by results in this State.

Volunteers raised by State authorities from January 1, 1863, to this date....	25,324
Recruits sent to regiments in the field.....	1,653
Enlisted by Provost-Marshals.....	11,080
Re-enlistments in the field (estimate).....	10,000
Substitutes (volunteers in fact).....	6,619
Enlisted by Provost-Marshals since December 31.....	1,500

56,156

Total number of conscripts who were delivered at military stations.....	2,575
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Like results are conspicuous in all parts of our State and in all sections of the country—in New England, Pennsylvania, and the West.

By an arrangement with Col. Diven and Major Townsend, volunteering under the last call, except in the first ten districts, was conducted under the direction of committees for the several Congressional districts, appointed jointly by the State and National authorities. In the first ten districts, including the cities of New York and Brooklyn, the whole matter was left in charge of Gen. Hays and the local authorities. I am not advised of the results in that part of the State, but in the other twenty-one districts the system adopted has been successful.

The attempt to fill our armies by drafting was abortive. While it gave no useful result, it disturbed the public mind, it carried anxiety and perplexity into the workshops, the fields, and the homes of our citizens.

It not only fails to fill our armies, but it produces discontent in the service; it is opposed to the genius of our political system; it alienates our people from the Government; it is injurious to the industrial pursuits of the country.

The difficulty in getting recruits is owing, in part, to the exhausting demands which have been made for that purpose. But it is also owing to other reasons; and among them attempted coercion is foremost. Congress attempted to keep up the number of men in the field without regard to State or local government, and it set aside those numerous minor local organizations, whose united contributions of men have made up our vast armies. By efforts to make itself independent of popular and local influences, the General Government impaired its power to get recruits.

It is asked why a draft should not succeed at the North as well as at the South? Our soldiers would cheerfully undergo the hardships not only of a coerced, but of an unpaid service, if the condition of the country demanded these sacrifices. They would, as the soldiers of the South do, readily share in the privations of their fellow-citizens. But, upon the same principle, they have a right to share in the prosperity of the community, when so many are enriched by the operations of this war, and when those who stay at home enjoy unusual wages. While our Government and people are financially prosperous, our armies ought to be filled by bounties, and not by coercion. Government is bound in equal justice to give our soldiers the same pay which labor earns at home. Another difficulty is the depreciation of our currency. While farmers or merchants who sell, or the laborer who works for wages, avoid the depreciation by increased price or pay, the soldiers have lost one-third of the value of their pay; for the money they get is worth less by thirty-three per cent. than when the war began; hence their families are suffering.

When this cruel war is over, and our soldiers return to the field or the workshop, their labor will be taxed, with that of all other citizens, to pay the debt it heaps up. Why should they not have a fair share of its expenditures? they will have to bear their share of payment.

The law of Congress was designed to keep up the number of men in the field with the least possible public expense. Its workings are the reverse of this. It has proved a levy upon property rather than a draft upon persons. The act of forcing citizens from their homes is repugnant to the feelings of the people. State, local, and municipal governments have avoided such painful scenes by the imposition of heavy taxes and the payment of large bounties to volunteers. This will continue to be the effect of every attempt at coerced military service, and with still increasing taxation. Prior to 1862, our armies were mainly filled by those who accepted the usual pay and bounties of our soldiers. In 1862, when it was proposed to make a draft under State laws, the local and State bounties were about \$100. Last year, under the Congressional act, \$300 were paid for volunteers in our principal cities. At this time, under the impending draft, the local, State, and National bounties amount to \$660. The local boun-

ties do not prevent the exhaustion of our National treasury. They are given by the same tax-payers who uphold the National credit. They are more oppressive upon the industry of the country than they would be if they made part of the National debt, and were thus more fairly diffused over the whole country. The ten millions paid to Government for commutations were taken from a class of men who could ill afford to part with their small earnings. It was more hurtful to the country than a diffused tax for one hundred millions of dollars.

The expense of raising troops is also increased by the unexpected and irregular demands of the Government for soldiers. Within the past eighteen months the Government has made calls upon the country for more than 1,200,000, and upon this State for 248,000 men.

These demands, coming unexpectedly after great armies had been sent into the field, embarrassed the business of the country. Many who, with time to make preparations, would have entered into the service, could not meet these unexpected requisitions. In addition to the confusion thus created, threatened drafts added to the popular excitement. Enormous bounties have been offered by States, towns, and counties, in their anxious competition to get volunteers to avoid conscription.

Another flagrant evil incident to sudden and irregular calls, to be filled within short periods to avoid draft, is the opportunity afforded for heartless frauds, by which volunteers are entrapped into the service and cheated out of their bounties, because they are not advised of the advantages offered. Under a permanent and uniform system of volunteering, such outrages could not occur, as all classes would become familiar with its terms.

In keeping up our armies regard must be had to the industry of the people. If this is not done our military power will be destroyed. Our armies should not be allowed to run down until they are inefficient, and then be reinforced by convulsive efforts. These evils will be avoided if in the place of drafts and calls a permanent plan for recruiting is adopted, and regiments kept up by a constant supply of recruits. The drain for men will be less hurtful, as it will make no sudden difficulties with the labor of the country. Reasonable bounties will induce volunteering; as time will be allowed to those disposed to enter the service to arrange their affairs without sacrifice. In addition to this continuous system of recruiting, the militia of the several States should be armed and equipped in the manner set forth in the National Constitution. They will be a reserve force to be called out to check disasters, or to follow up the advantages of war. While the existence of such militia would thus insure success to military operations, they would not be hurtfully withdrawn from the industry of the country. They would uphold the laws in their respective States, and be a security against invasion from abroad. If our State and National Governments had obeyed the requirements of their several Constitutions, there would be more than a million of organized militia in the Northern States. They would have checked this rebellion at once. The negligence and false economy which led the State and National Governments to disregard the warnings of our fathers upon the subject of arming and disciplining our people, have been fearfully punished. Ohio and Pennsylvania would never have

been invaded, nor would New York at this time be insulted by threatening attacks upon its border cities and towns, if the militia of the States had been kept up. Wise statesmanship and economy demand a return to this system. If this is done, and a judicious plan for recruiting is adopted, there will be no necessity for drafts.

The safety of our country demands that the sympathy between our citizens and our soldiers should be kept alive. Our armies should feel that they are upholding a just and paternal Government, which respects their personal rights, the happiness of their families, the sanctity of their homes. If soldiers are to be raised by coercion, in a little time the mass of our armies will be made up of conscripts. No one can look without concern upon measures which shall force half a million of men from their homes. Our soldiers in the field have been animated and sustained through the dangers and hardships of the war by the encouragement and sympathy they received when they freely went to battle for their country's honor. Would this be true of an army of conscripts? The army must not be estranged from our people. They must not feel that they do not enjoy a full share of the protection of laws or of the prosperity of the country. The natural tendencies of all compact organizations, removed from the relationships of society and home, are toward concentrated action. This action will tell directly upon the policy of the Government, as by the laws of several States they are invited to vote in local and general elections in distant fields, in ways adapted to their organized and military condition there. A new influence, acting in an unusual form, is thus created in the conduct of affairs. A new fact exists in our system of government. While the President, as Commander-in-chief, controls the army, the unanimous political action of the army will make the President. It is the part of wisdom to recognize every fact which tells upon the destiny of our country. It is folly to overlook the relationship which an army bears as well to political as to military affairs. Is it wise to destroy their sympathy with the body of our citizens, by forcing them into the field under circumstances of even apparent oppression, injustice, or wrong? Must we not keep alive in their hearts the sentiment that their interests in the country as citizens is far more important than those which they hold as soldiers? Can this be done in any manner so effectual as to preserve with sacred care every personal right, to exalt in the public mind the sacredness of persons, the security of homes, the protection of laws, the independence of the judiciary, the subordination of military to civil authority? Is such enforced service as the act of Congress contemplates, consistent with sentiments, without which the Government cannot stand or social order be preserved?

MILITIA.

A well regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free State. The events of the past year show that neglect of this truth has exposed us to dangers of invasion, to the disgrace of riots, and to the hazards of still greater calamities. Until recently our arsenals were bare of arms, and our State was not only without means to repel invasion, but it was also unprepared to execute its own laws. The city

of New York, the great centre of all financial and commercial movements, has been, until recently, unprotected. Its destruction would have paralyzed the action of the General Government. The fortifications which were designed for its defence became its greatest danger. At any moment a few men could seize them, and with their armaments destroy the city and its shipping, with vast amounts of treasure, and of military and naval stores. To guard against such disasters, when I entered upon the duties of this office, I proposed to raise militia regiments which could be used to man these forts, and be drilled in the use of their heavy ordnance. Gen. Wool, who then commanded the Department of the East, at all times showed great anxiety to protect the city against sudden attack, but there were difficulties in the way growing out of laws of Congress and the rules of the War Department. Fortunately for our State and Nation, a few thousand men have kept up militia organizations, and have become skilled in discipline and the use of arms. This has been done without fair legislative support or public sympathy. On three occasions they have been called out to avert extreme peril threatened to the National capital, and they can fairly claim that if they had not kept up their organizations, great and lasting dishonor would have been brought upon our country.

In June I received despatches from the Secretary of War and the Governor of Pennsylvania, asking for assistance against the invasion of the forces under General Lee. Orders were immediately issued to the militia to march at once for the capital of Pennsylvania. Our militia are entitled to the credit of making one of the most prompt movements recorded in the history of this war. On the 2d day of July I received the following despatch from the Governor of Pennsylvania :

HARRISBURG, July 2, 1863.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR SEYMOUR:—Send forward more troops as rapidly as possible; every hour increases the necessity for a large force to protect Pennsylvania. The battles of yesterday were not decisive, and if Meade should be defeated, unless we have a large army, this State will be overrun by rebels.

A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

More troops were immediately sent off in pursuance of this urgent appeal. The State has just reason to be proud of the services rendered by our militia. The correspondence with the General Government, and the reports of the officers in command of the militia on this occasion, will be submitted to you.

At the last session of the Legislature, the Governor, the Comptroller of the State, and E. D. Morgan, were appointed commissioners for the purpose of taking such measures as they might deem necessary for the protection of the harbors and frontiers of this State.

The harbor and fortifications at New York were visited, and found open to attack by land and by armed privateers, which were then burning our ships within sight of our coast. Government had withdrawn its troops, save an inconsiderable number, which could make no effectual resistance to any assault. Even the incomplete organizations of volunteer regiments, which I had placed under the command of Gen. Wool for the purpose of defending the city, had been sent to the army to meet the invaders of Pennsylvania.

While the militia were thus absent from the city, and its forts and

harbor unprotected, on Saturday, the 11th day of July, the draft, under the act of the last Congress, was commenced in one of the wards of the city. I was not advised of the step, and I believe the Mayor of the city was equally ignorant of the proceeding. A despatch was sent to me by the Mayor of New York, informing me of a popular outbreak on Monday evening, the 13th day of July, and on the following morning I reached the city and found it agitated with wild excitement and riotous violence. The militia were ordered to return immediately from Pennsylvania, and the following proclamation was issued:—

[This proclamation is printed elsewhere in this volume.—EDITORS.]

For the purpose of legalizing the most extreme exertion of force to put down violent resistance to law, I declared the city in a state of insurrection. It was divided into districts, which were placed under the control of persons of influence or military experience, who were directed to organize the citizens. Three thousand stand of arms were issued to these and other organizations. I endeavored by these arrangements to enable the police and the military to act against the masses of the rioters, and to relieve them from the fatigue of marching to distant points to check minor disorders.

To prevent the spread of violence, I obtained from the Collector of the port the service of an armed vessel to traverse the rivers and bays in the vicinity of New York, and I also authorized the Police Commissioners to charter another steamer, which could be used to carry policemen and soldiers to any point on the shores or islands where disturbances were threatened.

The lawless acts which were excited by hostility to the draft, and which led to unjustifiable attacks upon the enrolling officers, excited the passions of those still more lawless, desperate, and criminal. On the third day it became one of the most destructive riots known in the history of our country. Disregard for law produced its natural results, and life and property were endangered by acts of murder, arson, and robbery. The firemen, with the most extraordinary efforts, checked the conflagrations which were kindled by incendiaries. The destruction of the asylum for colored children, and murderous outrages upon a helpless and unoffending race, were conspicuous among other acts of cruelty and wrong. For a time the existence of the commercial metropolis of our country was threatened.

In the sad and humiliating history of this event, it is gratifying that the citizens of New York, without important aid from the State or Nation, were able of themselves to put down this dangerous insurrection. I do not underrate the value of the services rendered by the military or naval officers of the General Government who were stationed in that city, or those of General Sandford, for the public are under great obligations to them for their courage and prudent counsels. But they had at their command only a handful of troops, who alone were entirely unequal to the duty of defending the vast amount of public property which was endangered. The rioters were subdued by the exertions of the city officials, civil and military, the people, the police, the firemen, and a small body of only twelve hundred men, composed equally of the State and National forces.

It gives a gratifying assurance of the ability of the greatest city of

our continent to maintain order in its midst, that it did so under circumstances so disadvantageous, against an uprising so unexpected, and having its origin in questions deeply exciting to the minds of the great masses of its population, and in a measure to which a vast majority of its citizens were opposed.

While elsewhere houses, churches, and charitable institutions have been destroyed by mobs and incendiaries' fires, there are few, if any, cases where the local population and the civil power, with but little military aid, have put down an insurrection of such proportions by such decisive measures. The number killed and wounded is estimated by the police to be at least one thousand. The judicial authorities have also punished a large number of guilty parties. The report of the District Attorney will be submitted to you.

The return of some of the New York militia regiments secured peace to the city.

The inability of the Government at that moment to defend its forts and public property is stated in the following extract from a letter of General Wool, written about a week before these outrages occurred :

"Allow me to call your attention to the defenceless condition of this city. I have only five hundred and fifty men to garrison eight forts. One-half of these cannot be called artillerists, being very imperfectly instructed in any part of artillery duty. The Roanoke is ordered to proceed to Hampton Roads, leaving no vessel of war in the harbor or at the depot that can be available in less than ten days. The militia of this city and Brooklyn have either been or are being sent to protect and defend Pennsylvania, which is now paying dear for neglecting to take care of herself by guarding her frontier. Is it wise for New York to follow her example by neglecting to protect the city of New York, the great emporium of the country, and of more importance to the Government than all other cities under its control? If I had a sufficient number of men to man our guns I might protect the city from ordinary ships of war, but not from iron-clad steamers. In our present condition, for want of men to man our guns, the Alabama, or any other vessel of her class, might, without fear of injury, enter our harbor, and in a few hours destroy one hundred millions of property. I have done all in my power to guard against the present condition of the city. The condition of the city is an invitation to the rebels to make an effort to assail it."

Upon the receipt of this letter, I ordered militia from the interior of the State to man the fortifications. Unfortunately, General Wool was compelled to request me to countermand this order. This prevented the militia from being placed in the forts, and from aiding to put down the riot. I submit the correspondence with him upon this occasion, as well as that held with him during the preceding winter and spring.

In November I received information from the Secretary of War that an attack was to be made upon the frontier towns of this State by refugees from the South, who had congregated in considerable numbers in Canada. I issued orders to Major-General Randall, commanding the Eighth Division, to hold the National Guards under his command subject to the orders of General Dix, for the purpose of repelling any assault. I do not know how much reason there was to fear any invasion of New York. The Colonial Government will probably prevent any movement of that kind. But does it become the honor or dignity of the State to allow five hundred miles of its frontier to depend for its security upon the vigilance or power of another nation? Many of our principal inland cities, our lines of canal and railroads, lie at short distance from this extended border. A few thousand men could in a few hours inflict a vast

amount of injury upon our citizens, and destroy structures upon our canals and railroads which could not be replaced before great injury would be inflicted upon the commerce of the country. There are enemies enough upon our borders to strike blows whenever the negligence or changed feelings of the Canadian authorities shall allow them to act, and New York has not arms or military organizations to repel them. Our State can only be made secure by arming, equipping, and drilling our militia. If this is not done it will be a criminal neglect of the best interests, honor, and safety of the State.

The past year has been crowded with events, both civil and military, of the gravest interest. The establishment of a National Bank system; the issue of enormous amounts of paper money, which is made a legal tender; the adoption of a law for coerced military service; the act indemnifying and shielding officials charged with offences against the persons and property of citizens; the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in peaceful and loyal communities, are measures which go far toward destroying the rights of States, and centralizing all power at the National capital.

The executive and military officials assume to declare martial law and to arrest citizens, where the courts are in undisturbed operation, to try them by military tribunals, and to impose punishments unknown to the customs of our country; to administer arbitrary test oaths; to interfere with the freedom of the press, and with State and local elections, by military decrees and the display of armed power.

The President claims the right to do acts beyond his civil jurisdiction, and beyond the legislative power of Congress, by virtue of his position as Commander-in-chief. In this assumption he is sustained by both branches of Congress, and by a large share of the people of the country. These proceedings of Congress and the action of the executive and military officials have wrought a revolution. These acts have been sustained by the army and acquiesced in by the people. The civil power, the laws of States, and the decisions of the judiciary, have been made subordinate to military authority. At this time, then, we are living under a military government, which claims that its highest prerogatives spring from martial law and military necessities. This revolution, if permanently accepted, must be recognized as an overthrow of established and cherished principles of government. Hereafter it will force itself upon the attention of the American people, who will then see and feel its nature and results. To their decision, in calmer hours, this subject must be referred.

If these measures of military, political, and financial consolidation break down, their failure will show the wisdom of the Constitution in withholding from the General Government powers it cannot exercise wisely and well; and it will establish the rights of States upon a basis firm and undisputed, and will make the General Government strong by confining it to its proper jurisdiction. In the end we shall return to the principles from which we have been drifting.

In the meanwhile, we are threatened with other calamities which demand our immediate attention. The rights of the people and the restraints of the Constitution can be re-asserted whenever the public shall demand their restoration, but it is beyond the power of the popular will to rescue us from the calamities of National bankruptcy.

or National ruin, when these have befallen us. The progress of events has brought us to a point where we are compelled to contemplate these calamities, and to consider how they may be averted.

While it is a duty to state plainly my views about public affairs, I shall do so in no spirit of controversy, or of disrespect for the opinions of those who differ from me. The questions of the day are beyond the grasp of any mind to comprehend in their influences or results. We see them from different stand-points, and we reach conflicting conclusions. None but the ignorant, the bigoted, or the designing, will make these differences of views occasions for reproach or contumely. The times demand out-spoken discussions. When we see good and earnest men, under the influence of some absorbing sentiment, overlooking the great principles of good government, trampling upon usages and procedures which have grown up with the history of liberty in the civilized world, we are warned that none of us can claim to be above the influence of passions or of prejudices. While I do not agree with those upon the one hand who insist upon an unconditional peace, or with those, upon the other extreme, who would use only unqualified force in putting down this rebellion, I demand for them what I ask for those who concur in the views which I present, a fair, dispassionate, and respectful hearing. Let not the perils of our country be increased by bigotry, by partisan passions, or by an unwillingness to allow opinions to be uttered in forms and modes in accordance with the usages of our people and the spirit of our laws.

Since the outset of the war the National Administration has asked for nearly two millions of men. To keep up our armies, the average annual calls have been more than 400,000 men.

In addition to the loss of life, there has been a diversion of labor from peaceful and productive occupations to war, which destroys the accumulated wealth of the country.

The Secretary of the Treasury states the National debt will be sixteen hundred millions in July next. This does not include unascertained demands. In our former wars these latent claims have nearly doubled the liabilities supposed to exist during their progress. If the war should cease to-day, the National indebtedness could not fall short of two thousand millions of dollars. To this must be added the aggregate of State, county, and town obligations. The cost of carrying on the war hereafter will be increased by larger pay to our soldiers, by interest accounts, by enhanced prices of provisions, transportation, and material, growing out of a depreciated currency. The proposed issue of three hundred millions of paper money, under the National banking scheme, in addition to the vast sum now put out by Government, will add to the inflation of prices.

Conflicting views are held as to the amount of indebtedness which would cause National bankruptcy, and with regard to the length of time the war can go on without causing National ruin. All agree in this: that there is an amount of indebtedness which would overwhelm us with bankruptcy, that there is a duration of war which would bring upon us National ruin. The problem with which we have to grapple is: How can we bring this war to a conclusion before such disasters overwhelm us? These perils must be confronted.

Two antagonistic theories are now before the American people for bringing to an end the destructive contest in which we are engaged. The first is that contained in the resolution adopted by Congress and approved by the President at an early day, and upon the faith of which the people of this country, without distinction of party, have furnished more than one million of men to our armies, and vast contributions to the treasury of our country.

This resolution consecrated the energies of war and the policy of government to the restoration of the Union, the support of our Constitution. It was a solemn appeal to the civilized world that the objects thus clearly set forth justified a war which not only concerned the American people, but which also disturbed the commerce and industry of all nations.

The opposite theory prevents the return of the revolted States upon the condition of laying down their arms; it denies them a political existence which enables them to come back upon any terms; it holds that States in the revolted section of the country must be "re-established;" that the States hereafter made may or may not hold names or boundaries of the States thus destroyed, although "it is suggested as not improper" that these names and boundaries, &c., should be maintained.

The war, therefore, is not to be brought to an end by the submission of these States to the Constitution, and their return to the Union, but it must be prolonged until the South is subjugated to the acceptance, not of its duties under the Constitution, but of such terms as may be dictated. Until States are thus "re-established," it is held that there are no political organizations which can bring back the people to their allegiance; that if the nine States spoken of in the Proclamation of the President should lay down their arms, and should return to the performance of their duties, they would not be recognized nor received. This theory designs a sweeping revolution in the section of our country now in rebellion, and the creation of a new political system by virtue of executive decrees.

Is this calculated to stop the waste of blood and treasure? If the South is revolutionized, its property devastated, its industry broken up and destroyed, will this benefit the North?

Those who urge the restoration of the Union, and the preservation of our Constitution, contend that, in addition to upholding our armies and our navies, every measure of wise statesmanship and conciliatory policy shall be adopted to bring this war to a successful close.

Only the ends for which this war was begun should be sought; because they are the most easily attained, most beneficial when gained, and in their support the most varied, the most enlarged, and the most patriotic influences can be exerted.

On the other hand, it is insisted that the war shall be prolonged by waging it for purposes beyond those avowed at the outset, and by making demands which will excite a desperate resistance. A demand is made that the people of the South shall swear to abide by a proclamation put forth with reluctance, and which is objected to by a large share of Northern people as unwise and unjust, as it makes no distinction between the guilty and the innocent. They are to take an oath to which no reputable citizen of the North of any party will subscribe: that they will uphold any future proclamations relating to

slavery. They are to submit themselves to uttered and unuttered opinions and decrees. No longer regarding the war as directed against armed rebellion, it is to be waged against people, property, and local institutions! It is held that the whole population within the limits of certain States are stripped of all political rights until they are purged by presidential clemency.

The disorganization and destruction of the South are not to save us from the cost of war. The plan for the future government of the seceded States demands the maintenance of armies and a continued drain upon the persons and property of our people. Whenever one-tenth of the voters of either of these States shall submit themselves to the conditions imposed, they may form new governments with new or old names and boundaries. This inconsiderable minority is to be supported in the exercise of power by the arms and treasure of the North. There will be no motives on their part to draw the remaining population into the support of the governments thus created. There will be every inducement of power, of gain, and of ambition, to perpetuate the condition of affairs so favorable to individual purposes. It will also be for the interest of the National Administration to continue this system of government, so utterly at variance with a representative policy. Is not this the same mistaken theory upon which other nations have tried to govern their dependencies? Has complete subjugation for centuries produced the quiet, the obedience to law, the order, the security to life and property, the kindly feelings, or the mutual contributions to prosperity, which belong to real peace?

Governments thus formed would represent not the interests of their citizens, but the wills and interests of the power that creates and sustains them. The nine States thus controlled would balance in the House of Representatives in the choice of President, and at all times in the Senate, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Missouri, Kentucky and Wisconsin, with a united population of 16,533,383, which is more than one-half of that of our whole country. The one-tenth who would accept the Proclamation for the price of power, would not only govern the States made by Executive decrees, but they would also govern the North. While the plan is harsh to the body of the Southern people, it is still more unjust toward the North. Fourteen hundred men in Florida would balance in the Senate of the United States the power of New York. Less than 70,000 voters in the nine States named in the President's proclamation, would wield a power sufficient to weigh down that of the nine most populous States in the Union.

We should thus have, with the nominal States of Eastern and Western Virginia, a system of rotten boroughs which would govern the Union, and destroy the representative nature of our government. This, in connection with existing inequalities in State representation, would be a dangerous invasion of the rights of a majority of the American people. It would enable an administration to perpetuate its power.

It is a fact full of significance that every measure to convert the war against armed rebellion into one against private property and personal rights at the South, has been accompanied by claims to exercise military power in the loyal States of the North.

The Proclamation of Emancipation at the South, and the suspension

of the writ of habeas corpus at the North; the confiscation of private property in the seceding States, and the arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and banishment, of the citizens of loyal States; the claim to destroy political organizations at the South, and the armed interference by Government in local elections, have been contemporaneous events.

These acts at first were justified upon the ground that they were necessary to save the national existence. We now find that new and more extreme claims to arbitrary power are put forth when it is declared that the strength of the rebellion is broken, and that our armies are about to trample out every vestige of its incendiary fires. More prerogatives are asserted in the hour of triumph than were claimed as a necessity in days of disaster and of danger.

The doctrine of Southern disorganization and revolution is a doctrine of National bankruptcy, and of National ruin; it is a measure for lasting military despotism over one-third of our country, which will be the basis for military despotism over the whole land. It does not contemplate the return of our soldiers to their families, or relief from the cost and sacrifices of war. It will make an enduring drain upon our homes, and impose crushing burdens upon our labor and industry. It will open a wide and lasting field for pecculation and fraud. It tends to perpetuate power by making and unmaking States, as the interests of factions may dictate. It will be a source of internal disorder, and disquietude, and National weakness in our external relations. It will give dangerous allies to invaders of our soil.

If this war is to make a social revolution and structural changes in great States, we have seen only its beginning. Such changes are the work of time. If they are to be made by military power, it must be exerted through long periods. Whether white or black troops are used, the diversion from labor and the cost of war will be equally prolonged, and we have just entered upon a course of certain cost and uncertain results. No such changes as are now urged, have ever, in the world's history, been without struggles lasting through more than one generation of men.

What has Government accomplished in the territories wrested from rebellion by the valor of our armies? Has it pacified them? Has it revived the arts of peace? Have quiet and confidence been restored? Is commerce renewed? Are they not held as they were conquered—at the expense of Northern blood and treasure? Are not our armies wasted by holding under armed control those who, under a wise and generous policy, would have been friends? The spirit which prompts the harsh measure of subjugation has driven off many in the border States, who, at the crisis of our country's fate, broke away from their ancient sympathies with the seceding States and clung to the Union. States which, by the elections of the people, ranged themselves upon the side of the Constitution, are not allowed the free exercise of the elective franchise. In some quarters discontent has been increased; in no place has the wisdom of Government gained us allies.

There is but one course which will save us from National ruin. We must adhere to the solemn pledges made by our Government at the outset of the war.

We must seek to restore the Union and to uphold the Constitution.

To this end, while we put forth every exertion of material power to beat down armed rebellion, we must use every influence of wise statesmanship to bring back the States which now reject their constitutional obligations. We must hold forth every honorable inducement to the people of the South to assume again the rights and duties of American citizenship.

We have reached that point in the progress of the war, for which all have struggled and all have put forth united exertions. Our armies and navies have won signal victories; they have done their part with courage, skill, and success. By the usage of the civilized world, statesmanship must now exert its influence. If our cause fails, in the judgment of the world it will be charged to the lack of wisdom in the cabinet, and not to the want of bravery or patriotism in the army. The great object of victories is to bring back peace; we can now with dignity and magnanimity proclaim to the world our wish that States, which have long been identified with our history, should reassume their positions in the Union. We now stand before the world a great and successful military power. No one can foresee the latent victories or defeats which lie in our course if force, and force alone, is to be exerted. The past has taught us the certain cost of war and the uncertainties of its results.

In this contest belligerent rights are necessarily conceded to the South. The usages of international warfare are practiced in the recognition of flags and the exchanges of prisoners. Is it wise to put off the end of the war, and thereby continue a recognition which tends to familiarize the public mind in our own country, and in the world at large, with the idea that we are disunited into two distinct nationalities? A needlessly protracted war becomes disunion.

Wise statesmanship can now bring this war to a close, upon the terms solemnly avowed at the outset of the contest. Good faith to the public creditors; to all classes of citizens of our country; to the world, demands that this be done.

The triumph won by the soldiers in the field should be followed up and secured by the peace-making policy of the statesmen in the cabinet. In no other way can we save our Union.

The fearful struggle which has taught the North and South the courage, the endurance, and the resources of our people, have made a basis of mutual respect upon which a generous and magnanimous policy can build lasting relationships of union, intercourse, and fraternal regard. If our course is to be shaped by narrow and vindictive passions, by venal purposes, or by partisan objects, then a patriotic people have poured out their blood and treasure in vain, and the future is full of disaster and ruin.

We should seek not the disorganization but the pacification of that section of our country devastated by civil war.

In this hour of triumph appeals should be made to States which are identified with the growth and greatness of our country, and with some of which are associated the patriotic memories of our Revolutionary struggle. Every generous mind revolts at the thought of destroying all those memories that cling about the better days of the Republic; that are connected with the sacrifices of the men who have made our history glorious by their services in the cabinet, in the forum and in the field.

The victories which have given our Government its present commanding position were won by men who rallied around and fought beneath the folds of a flag whose stars represent each State in our Union. If we strike out of existence a single State, we make that flag a falsehood. When we extinguish the name of any of the original thirteen States, we dishonor the historic stripes of our National banner. Let the treasonable task of defacing our flag be left to those who war upon our Government, and who would destroy the unity of our country.

Faith to our armies and to our citizens demands that we keep sacred the solemn pledge made to our people and to the civilized world when we engaged in this bloody war, "that it was not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights of established institutions in those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Governor Seymour at the Opening of the Army Relief Bazaar, Albany, N. Y., February 22, 1864.

Appropriateness of the Occasion—Historical Sketch—Albany and the sacking of Schenectady in 1690—Albany the Birthplace of the American Union—The American Flag first borne into Battle in Defence of Albany—Charitable Purposes of the Bazaar—Charity a patriotic Agent unequalled—Virtues nourished by War—Women's sympathy with Suffering.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR said:—

Upon a day sacred to the memory of our greatest and purest statesman, upon a spot made famous by historical incidents, we meet for a purpose which appeals to our liveliest sympathy. It is fit that the capital of a great State, which furnishes so large a share of the armies of our country, and which is so numerously represented amid the sick and wounded of our hospitals, and among the graves of our battle-fields, should be prominent in efforts to soften the calamities of war.

Upon this occasion the historical events connected with this city and the adjacent towns are brought back to our memories. Albany is the oldest city in the thirteen States, and with the exception of St. Augustine, in Florida, the oldest town in our Union; for the earlier settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, has ceased to exist as a municipality. Before the Pilgrims landed upon Plymouth Rock, and before the foundations of our great commercial metropolis were laid at the mouth of the Hudson, a trading-post was established at this point, and for years it was the most important commercial place within the limits of our State.

It is not to its antiquity, and to its long-continued identification with the interests of our country, to which I wish to call your attention, but to some incidents in its history, recalled by the occasion which draws us together. In 1690, in this month of February, one hundred and seventy-four years ago, there came a midnight cry for help from the burning town of Schenectady; and the panting messengers who came along the pathway leading from Albany to that city, which ran along by the very spot upon which we now stand, told of the massacre of its inhabitants by Indian savages and French allies. The alarmed citizens of this place hurried to the protection of Fort Frederick, which stood on this ground; and the ancestors of many of those who I see before me, whose names are still familiar in your social circles, in your churches, and in your public organizations, met to devise measures of relief for the sick, the suffering, the wounded, and the dying of a neighboring town, and to adopt measures for the support of those who should go out to combat against the savage enemies. Many of their descendants, bearing those ancient and honorable names, meet here to-night for a kindred purpose. That long lapse of years, and those far-removed generations, at this moment seem freshly linked together by this coincidence of place and purpose.

A little later another event occurred within this city of still greater significance, and still more closely connected with this occasion. The people of the different colonies, living under distinct governments at the outset, were estranged from each other. Separated by distances which at that day were overcome with difficulty; made up of those different nationalities and conflicting creeds, there was among them but little intercourse, and no concert of action. Alarmed by a threatened combination of savage tribes, which menaced the safety if not the existence of the colonies, they sent delegates to a convention held in this city. Benjamin Franklin was its presiding officer. This was the first distinct movement to a union among the colonies, looking to strength and protection from united council and combined effort.

Thus Albany became the birthplace of the Union. In God's name then let it be upheld and cherished here! The first time that the stars and stripes were ever displayed from our National banner—the first time that its emblems of State sovereignty and National unity were ever given to the winds of heaven—the first time that that flag was ever displayed, which now kindles the enthusiasm and patriotism of the American in whatever part of the world he may see it, and under whose folds, in devotion to its sacred import, a million of men have battled within the last three years—that flag was borne into the dangers of the battle-field in the defence of this city. It was also first used to defeat an effort to divide the united colonies. For the purpose of gaining possession of the line of the Hudson River and the control of Lake Champlain, the British cabinet devised a combined movement upon this city. Its fleets were to ascend the Hudson. Its savage allies, under St. Leger, were to come down the Valley of the Mohawk. Its disciplined armies, under Burgoyne, meet the co-operating forces at this point, and thus sever the Eastern colonies from the rest of our country. The point to be reached by this great combined movement was the spot upon which we stand. This most formidable attempt upon our National existence was de-

feated upon the plains of Saratoga, and the threefold attack upon Albany was baffled and defeated. It was in that battle of Saratoga that our National flag was first used.

If we regard, then, the object for which we are assembled, and the relationship which that object bears to the Union of our country and its glorious flag, we find that the associations which cluster round this spot are all in fit keeping, and well calculated to excite our interest and our enthusiasm.

The objects of those who have engaged in this enterprise are charitable. Those who meet here hold conflicting views with regard to the affairs of the Government ; but whatever these differences may be, there can be no doubt as to the duty which rests upon us all to care for the sick, to relieve the wounded, to comfort those in prisons. Whoever has visited a battle-field when the fearful strife is over, may feel, but he cannot tell how much relief is given by the simplest acts of charity ; how a cup of cold water has relieved that intolerable anguish from thirst ; how a little shelter from a burning sun, or protection from a driving storm, can save a life which trembles upon the verge of existence. The smallest contribution to this purpose may, perchance, coming at the opportune moment, do a work of charity and benevolence which, at other times, a fortune could not do. But aside from this direct relief, who can foresee what other good may spring from the influences of a kindly charity ; how it may tell upon the morals, the patriotism, and the tone of our army. Nay, more, who can say that it may not save our National existence, perhaps, when the wisdom of cabinets and statesmen fail. When war may make ineffectual sacrifice of blood and treasure, it may be that acts of charity like these, seeking out the wounded and the dying upon the battle-field, when the struggle is over and passions are hushed, and helpless foemen lie side by side ; when every trace of rage and enmity has passed away, and common suffering brings again fraternal regard—who can say when, at such a time as this, your agents go forth over this terrible scene of strife and bloodshed, and forgetting all differences, see only suffering humanity before them, giving relief alike to foemen and to friend—who that believes in Christian charity and Christian truth shall say that these things may not again bring peace to our land, restore our Union, and give us back unimpaired the Government which our fathers framed.

[The Governor referred to the cordiality with which the neighboring cities had laid aside all local jealousies, and spoke in terms of just compliment to their zeal in the movement. He continued] :—

The brightest and the kindest virtues grow up strongly in connection with the violence and horrors of war, as the brightest, freshest flowers flourish upon the very edge of the everlasting glaciers. The virtues of gentleness and charity have ever been strikingly connected with martial life. Indeed the courtesies of life are most traceable to the usages of the camp. The very dangers of the battle-field compel an observance of acts of courtesy, of kindness and protection. Beyond all other men, the soldier values the virtues of mercy and gentleness. When the Saviour hung upon the cross, when the priest and Pharisee mocked his sufferings, of all who looked on, a soldier alone discerned his divinity, when he heard him pour forth a prayer for his enemies.

Women, withdrawn from the conflicts which bewilder and distract the counsels of those in public life, and free from the passions and prejudices which disturb the minds of men, look with sadness and sorrow upon events which carry mourning into their houses. With untiring devotion they have filled this ample hall with evidences of their taste, their industry and skill. Theirs is no discriminating charity. Upon the battle-field or in the hospital they see only suffering fellow-beings. There it knows no foeman. It is fit that this city, thus associated with many of the most glorious incidents in the history of our country, should be among the foremost in a work of Christianity, of humanity and patriotism. Above all, it is fitting that woman should thus come forward to show that she is ready and anxious, by kindness and love, to soften the horrors and ravages of war. It is becoming, too, that neighboring cities, laying aside all feelings of rivalry, should thus generously aid in this work. Thereupon, in pursuance of the invitation of your committee, and as Chief Magistrate of the State, I do dedicate this edifice to the great purposes of patriotism and charity, and I offer the fervent prayer to Almighty God that it may not only relieve the sick and wounded, but by its gentle influences may touch the hearts of those in rebellion; restoring our Union, giving new life and vigor to the Government of our fathers, and making us again a great, united, prosperous and happy people.

Governor Seymour on the Payment of the Interest of the State Debt in Coin.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, April 22, 1864. }

TO THE LEGISLATURE:—My attention has been called to a concurrent resolution, which has passed both branches of the Legislature, in the following words:

"Whereas, All the stocks issued by this State were made payable and negotiable in this State; therefore,

"Resolved, That no distinction should be made between the foreign and domestic holders of such bonds as to the currency in which the principal and interest thereon should be paid."

To the principle laid down in this resolution, in terms, there can be no objection offered. All the creditors of the State, whether they be of our own people or foreign, should be alike paid; paid promptly and in full all that was promised them.

The Legislature, last year, adopted a concurrent resolution on this subject, in the following words:

"Resolved, That the interest accruing on so much of the State debt on the first day of April as was on the first day of March, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, held by persons residing out of the United States, and is still held by them, be paid in gold or its equivalent."

An appropriation was made for the purchase of coin to an extent sufficient to enable the Comptroller to pay in gold the interest on the stocks of New York, held by persons residing abroad; and only to that extent. Although the resolution of last year did not in terms forbid the payment of the interest due to our creditors residing in this country, in coin, yet the absence of any appropriation for the purpose, obliged the Comptroller to forego such payment. In practice, a distinction was thus made between the non-resident creditor and the resident creditor. We kept faith with the stranger who had trusted us; we broke faith only with those of our own household.

The effect of the resolution of this year, in the absence of any appropriation, will be, that no part of the interest will be paid, as it was promised to be paid, to wit, in coin or its equivalent. When we sought the markets of the world with our securities, we pledged ourselves to redeem them in the currency of the world. The partial neglect of plighted faith last year is now to be followed by an open refusal to pay any of our promises according to their plain sense. The disgrace of last year was limited; it was kept within ourselves; now our shame and dishonor are to be borne in the face of the world.

I look upon this matter as of so much moment to the welfare and to the character of New York and of its people, that I feel constrained to ask you to give the subject a reconsideration; and to urge you to pass a concurrent resolution that shall enable the Comptroller to pay all the interest which may fall due before the next session of the Legislature in coin. In this way your resolution of this year can be carried into effect consistently with the good credit of the State, and "no distinction" will "be made between foreign and domestic holders" of the bonds. If you do not do this, let me urge you to provide, at least, for the interest that is due residents of other countries being paid in coin.

The refusal to pay in coin to our citizens may justify itself to some minds, although not to mine, as a measure of *quasi* taxation—special, discriminating, and unfair, but excused by our present extraordinary condition. In dealing with our creditors in other countries, no such considerations can come in. We have over them no legitimate power of taxation; these creditors of ours have no voice nor part in our political action; we have no claim upon them that they should take a share in the misfortunes that befall us in our career. They are not of our household, nor bound to take part of our domestic calamities upon themselves. The burdens and the misfortunes of this war belong to us; it is ungenerous to shift any portion of them upon others who are not a part of us. These foreign creditors of ours are strangers who lent us their money when we wanted it; upon no security but our word of honor. If we do not pay them back their money to the strict letter of our bargain we incur a shame that can never be removed from us. We deprive New York of an element of strength which heretofore has been wisely used, and which its people have found profitable, to wit, its unquestioned credit.

Principle and policy unite to urge the action I recommend to you. It is the only way in which the State can, in truth, fulfil its contracts. It is the only way in which the State can keep itself in a position to go into the market hereafter decently as a borrower.

The State is even now in the market for money to pay its bounties to volunteers. The whole amount of its appropriation I urge upon you will be more than repaid in the first negotiation the State may make, by the enhanced price of its securities. We shall lose more in our immediate transactions than the cost of providing the coin for this interest. Not only our future profit but our immediate gain will be served by adhering now to the strictest letter of our contracts. The saving proposed by not paying in coin is small and temporary, while the dishonor is lasting, and the pecuniary loss, consequent upon this dishonor, will be in the end enormous.

Bad faith on the part of New York, the leading member of our confederacy, must inevitably weaken very greatly, if it do not destroy, the credit of our Government securities in foreign markets. Compared with the importance of this State action in its effect upon the credit of the Government, the cost of paying our interest in coin is insignificant. Aside from the consideration of interest or policy, our duty, in my judgment, is plain. It is to pay the debts of the State; to pay them in precisely the mode in which they were promised to be paid; to keep the honor of the State unsullied; and to this plain duty we should be true, cost what it may.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

CIRCULAR FROM GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO MERCHANTS AND BANKERS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, ALBANY, April 23, 1864.

SIR:—The Legislature having made no provision for the payment of the interest on the State debt, as it should be paid, in coin, and the Comptroller having no funds which he can apply to the purchase of coin for the purpose, as a last resort I appeal to the men of capital, the bankers, the merchants, and others of the people of our great State, who have its honor at heart, to provide means by voluntary contribution, whereby at least so much of the interest as belongs to non-resident creditors, if not the whole, may be paid promptly in gold or its equivalent.

Unless this is done, the honor of New York is lost.

In wealth and numbers, in the ability to pay, New York stands far above every other State in the Union. Other States inferior in means, do not find the obligations of the hour too great for an honest performance. If New York falters now, it can claim no indulgent opinion of the world—the State brands itself with dishonesty.

For the purpose of showing the history of our legislative action upon this question, I append the messages sent by me to the Legislature last year, and at its present session. To you, who are identified, in the minds of the commercial world, with the character and credit of our noble State, to whom the honor of New York must be as your own, I appeal that you save the State from this lasting disgrace. I ask the bankers and merchants of our great metropolis to act in this matter. It is due to their future credit and their future pride, that they advance the money which is needed to this end.

In the hands of the active and energetic men of New York, whose spirit is always prompt to noble undertakings, the honor of our State is now left.

Let the stranger, who trusted to our honor, be paid to the last penny of our bargain.

I have faith that whatever money may be so contributed will be only lent. Better counsels will prevail among our legislators, and the State will repay what is now advanced.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

General Order of Gov. Seymour Relative to the Death of Gen. Wadsworth.

ALBANY, May 10, 1864.

I ANNOUNCE, with painful feelings, the loss of Gen. James S. Wadsworth, in the recent battles on the Rapidan. He met death bravely, at the head of the forces under his command. A leading and wealthy citizen, he exercised a wide influence by the vigor and energy of his character. As a public man, he was always decided and resolute in demanding purity of legislation, and an economical and wise administration of the affairs of our own State. Long prominent among us in civil life, when the war broke out, he was prompt among the first to join the army. From the outset an ardent supporter of the war, to him belongs the merit of freely perilling his own person in upholding the opinions which he advocated. Assigned at once to a high military position, he has been, up to the day of his death, actively and earnestly devoting himself to the performance of his military duties. As a mark of respect for his memory, the American flag will be displayed at half-mast on the capitol, and upon all the arsenals of the State.

HORATIO SEYMOUR,

Governor and Commander-in-chief.

J. B. STONEHOUSE, A. A. Gen.

The Suspension of Democratic Newspapers in New York.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO DISTRICT-ATTORNEY HALL.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, May 23, 1864. }

To A. OAKLEY HALL, Esq., District-Attorney of the County of New York:—Sir—I am advised that on the 19th instant the office of the *Journal of Commerce*, and that of the *New York World*, were entered by armed men, the property of the owners seized, and the premises held by force for several days. It is charged that these acts

of violence were done without due legal process, and without the sanction of State or National laws.

If this be true, the offenders must be punished.

In the month of July last, when New York was a scene of violence, I gave warning that "the laws of the State must be enforced, its peace and order maintained, and the property of its citizens protected at every hazard." The laws were enforced at a fearful cost of blood and life.

The declaration I then made was not intended merely for that occasion, or against any class of men. It is one of an enduring character, to be asserted at all times, and against all conditions of citizens, without favor or distinction. Unless all are made to bow to the law, it will be respected by none. Unless all are made secure in their rights of person and property, none can be protected. If the owners of the above-named journals have violated State or National laws, they must be proceeded against and punished by those laws. Any action against them, outside of legal procedures, is criminal. At this time of civil war and disorder, the majesty of the law must be upheld, or society will sink into anarchy. Our soldiers in the field will battle in vain for constitutional liberty, if persons, or property, or opinions, are trampled upon at home. We must not give up home-freedom, and thus disgrace the American character, while our citizens in the army are pouring out their blood to maintain the National honor. They must not find when they come back that their personal and fireside rights have been despoiled.

In addition to the general obligation to enforce the laws of the land, there are local reasons why they must be upheld in the city of New York. If they are not, its commerce and greatness will be broken down. If this great centre of wealth, business and enterprise is thrown into disorder and bankruptcy, the National Government will be paralyzed. What makes New York the heart of our country? Why are its pulsations felt at the extremities of our land? Not through its position alone, but because of the world-wide belief that property is safe within its limits, from waste by mobs and from spoliation by Government. The laborers in the workshop, the mine, and in the field, on this continent and in every other part of the globe, send to its merchants, for sale or exchange, the products of their toil. These merchants are made the trustees of the wealth of millions living in every land, because it is believed that in their hands property is safe, under the shield of laws administered upon principle and according to known usages. This great confidence has grown up in the course of many years by virtue of a painstaking, honest performance of duty by the business men of your city. In this they have been aided by the enforcement of laws based upon the solemnly-recorded pledges that "the right of the people to be secured in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and that no one shall be deprived of liberty or property, without due process of law." For more than eighty years have we as a people been building up this universal faith in the sanctity of our jurisprudence. It is this which carries our commerce upon every ocean, and brings back to our merchants the wealth of every clime. It is now charged that, in utter disregard of the sensitiveness of that faith, at a moment when

the National credit is undergoing a fearful trial, the organs of commerce are seized and held, in violation of constitutional pledges; that this act was done in a public mart of your great city, and was thus forced upon the notice of the commercial agents of the world, and they were shown in an offensive way that property is seized by military force and arbitrary orders! These things are more hurtful to the National honor and strength than the loss of battles. The world will confound such acts with the principles of our Government; and the folly and crimes of officials will be looked upon as the natural results of the spirit of our institutions. Our State and local authorities must repel this ruinous inference. If the merchants of New York are not willing to have their harbor sealed up and their commerce paralyzed, they must unite in this demand for the security of persons and property. If this is not done, the world will withdraw from their keeping its treasures and its commerce. History has taught all that official violation of law in times of civil war and disorder, goes before acts of spoliation and other measures which destroy the safeguards of commerce.

I call upon you to look into the facts connected with the seizure of the *Journal of Commerce*, and of the *New York World*. If these acts were illegal, the offenders must be punished. In making your inquiries, and in prosecuting the parties implicated, you will call upon the sheriff of the county, and the heads of the police department for any needed force or assistance. The failure to give this by any official under my control, will be deemed a sufficient cause for his removal.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,
 HORATIO SEYMOUR.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S SECOND LETTER TO DISTRICT-ATTORNEY HALL.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
 ALBANY June 26, 1864. }

A. OAKLEY HALL, Esq., District-Attorney of the City and County of New York:—Sir—In the matter of the seizure of the offices of *The World* and *Journal of Commerce*, the grand jury, in disregard of their oaths “to diligently inquire into and true presentment make of all such matters and things as should be given them in charge,” have refused to make such inquiries, and declare that “it is inexpedient to examine into the subject referred to in the charge of the court” with respect to such seizures. It becomes my duty, under the express requirements of the Constitution, “to take care that the laws of the State are faithfully executed.” If the grand jury, in pursuance of the demands of the law and the obligations of their oaths, had inquired into the matter given them in charge by the court and the public prosecutor, their decision, whatever it might have been, would have been entitled to respect. As they have refused to do their duty, the subject of the seizure of these journals should at once be brought before some proper magistrate. If you wish any assistance in the prosecution of these investigations, it will be given to you.

As it is a matter of public interest that violations of the laws of the

State be punished, the views or wishes of the parties immediately affected must not be suffered to influence the action of public officers. If, through fear or other motives, they are unwilling to aid you in getting at facts, it will be your duty to compel their attendance as witnesses in behalf of the people.

Respectfully yours,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Reception to Veteran Volunteer Regiments.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO MR. T. ROOSEVELT.

ALBANY, June 30, 1864.

DEAR SIR:—I am informed that there is a movement on foot in your city to give to our veteran volunteers who have recently re-enlisted, and are now at home on furlough, some form of public reception as a mark of our appreciation of their patriotic services, and that you are actively engaged in the matter. The proposition has my cordial sympathies, and I trust that all the civil authorities and military officers of the State will heartily co-operate with you. You are at liberty to make use of this note in any quarter you think proper, as an expression of my wishes on the subject.

Truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

T. ROOSEVELT, 94 Maiden Lane.

Governor Seymour and the Call for 12,000 Men for One Hundred Days.

ORDER DIRECTING THE RECRUITMENT OF MILITIA REGIMENTS.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, July 8, 1864.

THE events of the past three years have shown the necessity of a well-organized militia to uphold the laws, to put down disorders, to suppress insurrections, and to repel invasions. The State of New York has been called upon three times to furnish its militia to protect the National capital, and to drive back invasion of neighboring States. The fourth call has now been made by the President.

Heretofore the burden has been thrown upon the cities of New York and Brooklyn, with the exception of a few men sent from the counties of Ulster, Greene, Albany, Dutchess, Columbia, Erie, and

Chautauqua. Other parts of the State have done nothing in answer to these calls of the President; neither are they in condition to discharge their duties to the State. This is not only unequal and unjust, but in violation of the theory of our Government, and it must not be longer continued. The calls made by the General Government must be met by every county in proportion to its members; and in the same degree must every county be in a condition to enforce the laws of the State, the decisions of the judiciary, to maintain peace and order, and to put down resistance of lawful authority.

It is my duty to carry out the laws of the State, providing for the enrolment of the militia, the organization of the National Guard, and for the public defence.

In pursuance of the provisions of said act, I do, therefore, order and direct the commandants of each company district, in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth divisions, to accept sufficient volunteers, should the same offer within ten days, to raise their several companies, and maintain the same at the maximum number provided by law; and if sufficient shall not offer, then a sufficient number shall be drawn from the reserve militia of said districts, under the enrolment made pursuant to the law of this State, and which enrolment commandants will complete without delay.

HORATIO SEYMOUR,

Governor and Commander-in-chief.

JOSIAH T. MILLER, Inspector-General S. N. Y.

ORDERS TO THE FIRST AND SECOND DIVISIONS.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
ALBANY, July 9, 1864. }

GENERAL ORDERS No. 13.

1. The President of the United States having called for twelve thousand men from this State to serve for one hundred days, it is determined to send volunteers from throughout the State, in order to relieve those organizations which have heretofore so promptly responded. To effect this the National Guard is to be filled to its maximum strength.

When organizations are efficient, volunteers will be asked for accordingly. Major-General Charles W. Sandford, commanding First Division National Guard of the State of New York, headquarters New York City, will call for three thousand volunteers to serve one hundred days, as the quota from his command—and cause these troops to take the field by regiments as early as practicable.

2. Major-General H. B. Duryea, commanding the Second Division National Guard of the State of New York, Brooklyn, L. I., will furnish one thousand eight hundred and fifty volunteers from his command, as the quota from the Second Division, and despatch them to the field by regiments.

3. Clothing will be furnished by Brigadier-General S. V. Talcott, Quartermaster-General, No. 51 Walker street, New York. Arms and accoutrements by Brigadier-General James A. Farrell, Commissary-General, State Arsenal, cor. Thirty-fifth street and Seventh avenue, New

York. Application for subsistence before muster should be made upon Brigadier-General William Hays, A. A. P. M. General, New York city. After muster, upon Colonel A. B. Eaton, United States Commissary Department, No. 6 State street, New York. Transportation will be furnished by Major Stewart Van Vliet, United States Quartermaster, No. 6 State street, New York.

4. Commandants of regiments will give the necessary orders forbidding clothing, arms, and accoutrements belonging to the State to be taken to the field.

5. Reports will be made to these headquarters as early as practicable, naming the regiments volunteering, that orders may be given to the proper departments to meet necessary demands.

6. Regiments as fast as organized will proceed to Washington City and report for orders.

By order of the Commander-in-chief.

JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE TO JOIN THE NATIONAL GUARD (MILITIA).

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, July 12, 1864. }

On the 8th instant, I ordered that the several military companies be increased to the maximum numbers. I now appeal to the people of New York to carry out this order by joining the National Guard, or by such other measures as will give that organization the numbers required by law. Unless this is done at once, I cannot respond to the call now made by the President of the United States.

The National Constitution declares that a well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free State. If we had heeded this truth we should not have been exposed to invasion, to the disgrace of riots, and to the hazards of still greater calamities. The negligence and false economy which led us to disregard this warning have been fearfully punished. The cost of arming and equipping the National Guard would have been trifling compared with the amount which New York must now pay as its quota of the expense of driving back the armies which now threaten the National capital.

Let us be warned by the errors of the past. I implore all citizens to lay aside passion and prejudice, and to unite in carrying out a law clearly demanded by the honor, the interest, the safety of the State and nation. In many parts of New York this duty has been utterly neglected, and the burden of answering calls for the militia has been thrown upon a few sections of the State.

In this time of civil war we are perplexed with many questions which are beyond the grasp of any mind. We see them from different stand-points, and reach conflicting conclusions. It is only ignorance and bigotry which will make these differences and views occasions for controversies and reproach. However we may differ upon other points, there should be no conflict of opinion as to the duties we owe to the State and National Governments. These are clearly set forth in the Constitution of our country, in the following terms:

ART. 6, Sub-division 2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authorities of the

United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges of every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

ART. 3, SEC. 2, Provides, For the purpose of defining the limits of the authority of the General Government: "The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties made under their authority."

ART. 10 of the amendments declares: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Every good citizen will yield an equal respect and obedience to each of these provisions. When either of them is disregarded, our country will be overwhelmed with anarchy and confusion. I exhort all not to allow their passions, their prejudices, and suspicions, to increase the dangers which overhang us. Let us cordially unite in measures essential to the preservation of the National unity, the power of our State, the peace and good order of society. Foremost among them is the organization of those liable to duty, without respect to creed or political opinions, into local military companies. In order to meet the constitutional demands of the General Government, to secure the enforcement of the laws of the State, and afford security to the lives and homes of our citizens, this must be done at once.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Proclamation of National Fast, August 4, 1864.

THE President of the United States having set apart Thursday, the 4th inst., for National fasting, humiliation and prayer, I, Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York, do recommend that the day be observed throughout this State, with suitable religious solemnities.

Let us repent of our manifold sins and offences, and humbly pray that Almighty God will put down all rebellious resistance to rightful authority; all sectional hatred, all bigotry and malice; all hurtful ambition or partisan purposes which tend to discord and strife; that He will restore the union of our States, and fraternal affection between the inhabitants thereof, and give peace to our land. Acknowledging the justice of His punishment for our national and personal sins, let us entreat of Him to have mercy upon us, to turn away His wrath, to stop the shedding of blood, to return our soldiers to their homes, to relieve the sick, wounded and suffering; to comfort those in mourning; to reward the industry of our people; to relieve them from heavy burdens; to make them safe in their persons and homes from all violence and oppression, and to give the protection of law to all conditions of men.

To these ends let us pray that God will give wisdom to our rulers, purity to our legislators, uprightness and boldness to our judges, meekness and charity to our clergy, and virtue, intelligence and godliness to our people.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto affixed the privy seal of the State, at the City of Albany, the 1st day of August, in the year of our Lord 1864.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

By the Governor: D. WILLERS, Jr., Private Secretary.

Governor Seymour and the Proposed Draft of 1864.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON ASKING A REVISION OF THE ENROLMENTS.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, August 3, 1864. }

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—Sir—It is my duty to call your attention to the enrolments made with a view to the draft lately ordered by the President. In some of the congressional districts they are especially excessive and injurious. The average quotas in thirty-one congressional districts in New York are 2,881; in Massachusetts and New Hampshire they are 2,161; in Pennsylvania, 2,571. It will be seen that the average demand made in every congressional district in the State is for 310 men per district more than is required for Pennsylvania, and for 714 men per district more than Massachusetts and New Hampshire. I name these States, as I have not been able to procure the quotas assigned elsewhere.

There are no differences in the character of the population of these States to account for these discrepancies.

The most oppressive enrolments appear in the congressional districts in the cities of New York and Brooklyn. The average demand made upon these is for 3,867 men each, while in Massachusetts the average demand made upon each district is for 2,167 men. The census returns show that the proportion of aliens and females in the large towns should make their quota less, not greater, than in other sections. These returns are confirmed by the character of their respective populations. Not only are aliens numerous in New York and Brooklyn, but females make a larger proportionate number than elsewhere, as they find more employment in workshops, or as domestics.

If a comparison is made between cities of different States, the disproportion of men demanded from New York and Brooklyn is still more startling. While in these cities twenty-six per cent. of the population is enrolled, in Boston only twelve and a half per cent., or less than one-half that ratio, are made liable to be drafted. The ten congressional districts of Massachusetts are required to furnish, under the last call, only 21,670 men. The first ten congressional districts in this State are called on for 35,954, making an excess of 14,284. It is clear that great injustice is done under these enrolments. I do not mean to find fault with those who made them in New York and Brooklyn. I know that what they state is true; that it is not possible to avoid the enrolment there of persons who are not liable to be drafted, because they are aliens or non-residents. Those whose names are thus erroneously put down have no interest in correcting the lists, while the fact is, that they swell the enrolments and bring grievous burdens upon the district to which they are charged.

The draft makes a heavy drain upon all parts of our country. In our cities it is a terrible affliction. A great proportion of the inhabitants live upon daily wages, which they must receive with regularity to give food, fuel and shelter to their families. These can only be obtained by cash payments. The pay of the soldiers, which is

made at irregular times, and, perhaps, at comparatively long periods, will not provide the necessary support to their families in cities like New York and Brooklyn, and they are frequently broken up and ruined. Every consideration of justice and humanity demands that unequal burdens should not be thrown upon them.

It is proper I should say that since the beginning of this civil war these cities have not only furnished their full quotas, but are to-day entitled to a credit of about three thousand three years' men. It would be an act of justice to count each of these men against three men under the present call for service for one year. But these cities have done more. They have on repeated occasions promptly answered the calls of the department in times of peculiar peril. They have been enabled to do this, because, at great expense, they have kept up a well-disciplined militia. The cost of this has been as much for the advantage of the United States as for the city governments.

These excessive enrolments also subject to heavy taxation those who have been foremost in filling the National treasury and giving to the Government the money which has enabled it to pay its soldiers. I know that you will agree with me that New York and Brooklyn have strong claims, not only upon the equity, but upon the gratitude of those who are administering the National affairs.

In answer to an appeal which I made to you last year to correct a similar wrong, you appointed William F. Allen of this State, Chauncey Smith of Massachusetts, and John Love of Indiana, a commission to examine the enrolment of 1863. They submitted an able report, showing its great injustice, and you relieved these cities from a great wrong. I urge that some similar plan be adopted now, whereby the quotas of this State, which, especially in the districts I have named, including New York city and Brooklyn, appear to be unequal and oppressive, may be adjusted equitably in proportion to the demands made upon other parts of the country. Since the enrolments were made there has been no opportunity to correct them. Neither can this be done in time. While names may be added to the lists, those which are improperly placed there cannot be stricken off. In large cities the names in excess cannot be detected, as the citizens are not familiar with the names and condition of their neighbors. In the country it is otherwise.

Truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

LETTER TO THE MAYORS OF NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, August 5, 1864. }

SIR:—I send you a copy of a communication which I have addressed to the Secretary of War with respect to the quotas of your city. You will see by the facts stated therein, that great injustice has been done. The excessive enrolment falls heavily upon your population; particularly so upon your laborers. They are entitled to the protection of State and city authorities, and of all who can ward off this great wrong. In addition to justice and humanity, there are other considerations well worth your attention. The withdrawal of

36,000 able-bodied men from the first ten districts will disorganize labor, throw a large number of helpless families upon the public for support, and will be injurious alike to the morals and interests of your community. If your quota is raised by the payment of bounties, assuming that you give \$300 for each one of 35,954 men called for from the first ten districts, it will amount to \$10,786,200. Most of this must be paid by the cities of New York and Brooklyn. I am making an effort to have your quotas brought down to the standard of Massachusetts. This would make a difference of more than 10,000 men, and a saving of at least \$3,000,000. It is probable that you will have to pay \$500 for substitutes. If this should be true, a correction of your quotas will save at least \$5,000,000.

I shall spare no effort to have justice done to your districts. Last year an important correction was made, which saved you from the payment of heavy taxation. Heretofore this department has felt the want of co-operation by those interested in its efforts to get justice done to different sections of our State. Indeed, these efforts have in many instances been thwarted by those who should have given assistance. To avoid the difficulty, I send you a copy of my letter to Mr. Stanton, and I trust you will look into the facts connected with the enrolment, and will take such steps as you may deem proper to prevent any unequal action toward your districts. The citizens of New York and Brooklyn cannot complain of the policy of the General Government in its legislation, or if the execution of laws is hurtful to them, if they do not show any interest in their own behalf, and clearly point out to those who administer the Government, in what respect they are suffering by the policy of that Government, or in the execution of its measures. I shall be happy at all times to furnish such facts and statistics as may be needed for these purposes, and I will send agents who can clearly explain everything connected with the enrolment and quota of your section of the State.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Threatened Raid from Canada.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CITIZENS OF BUFFALO AND GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

BUFFALO, August 9, 1864.

To his Excellency HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of New York:—
Sir—As citizens of Buffalo we deem it a duty which we owe alike to our city and country at large, to make an earnest appeal to your Excellency, and through you to the General Government, for military protection against an apprehended raid of rebels from Canada to burn our city and plunder its inhabitants. We have learned through the Provost-Marshal's office here that a detective has been employed by that officer in Canada for seven weeks past, watching the movements of the rebels there, and that recently they seemed to be con-

gregating on the Niagara frontier, apparently with some design of making a strike; and Buffalo, so rich in its stores of grain and merchandise, and so utterly defenceless, offers many temptations to a marauding force composed of rebels from the Southern States, and deserters from our own army, many of whom, we are informed, are thoroughly depraved, in most destitute circumstances, and ready for any expedition that promises devastation and plunder with a hope of escape.

After consultation by a few of our most prominent citizens, we have concluded that it was best to address your Excellency privately by letter, lest a more public manifestation of our defenceless condition might invite an attack before we are prepared to meet it. We beg leave to call your attention particularly to our situation. Our location is peculiar. We occupy the narrow strait through which most of the commerce between the East and West must pass, and it needs only to look at the twenty-seven elevators filled with grain, and which are indispensable to transfer thirty or forty millions of bushels that must arrive here before the close of navigation, to see that, if these be destroyed, it will be a National calamity, the effects of which will be felt to the remotest parts of the United States; and they are necessarily of that combustible material, easily ignited, and once on fire, are so high that there can be little hope of extinguishing the flames. It is impossible to guard this frontier by anything short of military force acting under military discipline; and while we would not presume to dictate what should be done, we would respectfully suggest that means be immediately taken by the military authorities to ascertain definitely, by competent and skilful detectives, the plans and intentions of these rebels, and that the Canadian authorities—whom we believe to be friendly—be invited to co-operate in preventing a raid from Canada on the United States; and, above all, that a military force, adequate to our protection, be placed on this frontier. If troops cannot be spared from other places, we hope and trust that those raised here, comprising the Sixty-fifth and Seventy-fourth regiments, may be suffered to remain until their places can be supplied by others.

Hoping that this communication will receive prompt attention, we remain your Excellency's most obedient servants,

HENRY W. ROGERS.	WM. G. FARGO, Mayor.
JOHN GANSON.	MILLARD FILLMORE.
E. G. SPAULDING.	S. V. R. WATSON.
JOHN ALLEN, Jr.	S. D. AUSTIN.
P. L. STERNBERG.	SAMUEL F. PAATT.
GIBSON P. WILLIAM.	

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S REPLY.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, August 12, 1864. }

GENTLEMEN:—In answer to your letter with regard to the threatened danger to your city from refugees and others on the Canadian border, I have to say that immediate steps have been taken to place the militia of the State in a condition to repel an invasion of its soil.

I have directed that the commanders of the different districts hold themselves in readiness to answer at once any call that may be made upon them. As your city is exposed to injury from small parties of marauders and incendiaries, it is proper that close watch should be kept by a sufficient number of men to prevent such forms of attack. I have issued orders that the two regiments belonging to Buffalo should remain in that city, and that a detail be made from them for guard duty. If you will send some proper person to this city to advise with me in regard to future measures, I will order such action as may be deemed necessary for your protection.

Truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

To WM. G. FARGO, MILLARD FILLMORE, JOHN GANSON, and others, Buffalo, N. Y.

ORDERS TO GENERAL GREEN.

STATE OF NEW YORK, INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
ALBANY, August 12, 1864. }

To Brigadier-General JOHN A. GREEN, Commanding 24th Brigade, National Guard, Syracuse:—General—The Governor being informed that refugees, deserters, and other evil-disposed persons are gathered in considerable numbers in the adjoining Canadian provinces, and that there is danger that they may elude the Canadian authorities and make an attack upon some of our frontier towns, the northern boundary of the State, from the east line of the county of Monroe to the west line of the State of Vermont, is placed under your military charge. This will embrace the counties of Wayne, Cayuga, Oswego, Jefferson, St. Lawrence, Franklin and Clinton, and this order will continue in force, unless revoked, until the brigades in the several districts embraced in the above counties shall respectively report at least two organized regiments. You will immediately make such arrangements as will secure to you the earliest information, and as will, in your judgment, best enable you to guard against any invasion of our country by marauders. If it shall become necessary to maintain a patrol at any point, you will make such details from the organized regiments of the National Guard in your brigade, or from the district patrolled, as may be required for that purpose, reporting your action in the premises to the Commander-in-chief. Contracts for subsistence, should any become necessary, will be made by you, pursuant to instructions from the Adjutant-General, who will issue such other and further orders in the premises as the exigency of the service may require.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JOSIAH T. MILLER, Inspector-General.

Governor Seymour at the Democratic National Convention, Chicago, August 30, 1864.

SPEECH ON TAKING THE CHAIR AS PRESIDENT.

Why the Democratic Party should be restored to Power—Review of the Republican National Convention of 1860—Mr. Lincoln's Administration incapable of Saving the Union—Causes of its Failure—Tribute to the Soldiers—Superior Qualifications of the Democracy to save the Union—Partisan Triumphs not sought—The Rights of Opponents to be respected.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :—I thank you for the high honor you have conferred upon me, in making me president of this body. The importance of the occasion has already been expressed in fitting words by your temporary chairman. I have not language to tell with what anxious solicitude the people of this country watch our proceedings. The prayers of men and women in ten thousand homes go up to Heaven that we may be so guided in our deliberations, that our action may conduce to the restoration of our Union, to the return of peace, and the maintenance of liberty in this land.

It is not for me to forecast your action—it is not for me to say what methods may be adopted to relieve this afflicted country of ours. But while I may not speak on that subject, I can, with propriety, allude to the sentiments which animate you all. There is no man here who does not love the Union. There is no man here who does not desire peace. There is no man here who is not resolved to uphold the great principles of constitutional freedom.

I know that the utmost importance attaches to all your proceedings. I know it is of vital consequence that you should select such men as your candidates as enjoy the confidence of the American people. But beyond platforms, and beyond candidates, there are other considerations of still greater significance and importance. When you wish to know what the policy of a party will be, you must strive to learn the passions and sentiments which animate that party.

Four years ago, in this city, there was an assemblage of citizens from the different parts of our country, who met here for the purpose of placing in nomination a candidate for the Presidency. They put forth declarations that they would not interfere with the rights of the States of this Union. They did not intend to destroy our country—they did not mean to break down its institutions. But unhappily they were influenced by sectional prejudices, by fanaticism, by bigotry, and by intolerance, and we have found in the course of the last four years that their animating sentiments have overruled their declarations and their promises, and swept them on, step by step, until they have been carried on to actions from which at the outset they would have shrunk away with horror.

Even now, when war has desolated our land, has laid its heavy burdens upon labor, when bankruptcy and ruin overhang us, they will not have Union except upon conditions unknown to our Constitution ; they will not allow the shedding of blood to cease, even for a little time, to see if Christian charity or the wisdom of statesmanship may not

work out a method to save our country. Nay, more than this, they will not listen to a proposal for peace, which does not offer that which this Government has no right to ask. This Administration cannot now save this Union, if it would. It has, by its proclamations, by vindictive legislation, by displays of hate and passion, placed obstacles in its own pathway which it cannot overcome, and has hampered its own freedom of action by unconstitutional acts.

It cannot be said that the failure of its policy is due to the want of courage and devotion on the part of our armies. Never in the world's history have soldiers given up their lives more freely than have those of the armies which have battled for the flag of our Union in the Southern States. The world will hold that they have done all that arms can do, and had wise statesmanship secured the fruits of their victories, to-day there would have been peace in our land.

But while our soldiers have desperately struggled to carry our banner southward to the Gulf of Mexico, even now the Government declares that rebellious discontent has worked northward to the shores of the great lakes. The guaranteed right of the people to bear arms has been suspended up to the very borders of Canada; so that American servitude is put in bold contrast with British liberty. This Administration thus declares to the world it has now no faith in the people of States whose votes placed it in power; and it also admits by such edict that those people have no faith in this Administration. While those in power, without remorse, sacrifice the blood and treasures of our people, they will not give up their own passions for the public good.

This Union is not held asunder by military ambition. If our political troubles could be referred to the peaceful arbitrament of the contending armies in the field, our Union would be restored, the rights of States would be guaranteed, the sacredness of homes and persons again respected, and an insulted judiciary would again administer the laws of the land. Let not the ruin of our country be charged to our soldiers. It is not due to their teachings or their fanaticism. In my constant official intercourse with them, I have never heard uttered one sentiment of hatred toward the people of the South. Beyond all men, they value the blessings of peace and the virtues of mercy, of gentleness, and of charity; while many who stay at home cry havoc, and demand that no mercy shall be shown.

The bigotry of fanatics, and the intrigues of placemen, have made the bloody pages of the history of the past three years. But if the Administration cannot save this Union, we can. Mr. Lincoln values many things above the Union; we put it first of all. He thinks a proclamation worth more than peace; we think the blood of our people more precious than the edicts of the President. There are no hindrances in our pathways to union and to peace. We demand no conditions for the restoration of our Union; we are shackled with no hates, no prejudices, no passions. We wish for fraternal relationships with the people of the South. We demand for them what we demand for ourselves--the full recognition of the rights of States. We mean that every star on our Nation's banner shall shine with an equal lustre.

In the coming election, men must decide with which of the two parties, into which our people are divided, they will act. If they

wish for Union, they will act with that party which does now and always did love and reverence that Union. If they wish for peace, they will act with those who sought to avert this war, and who now seek to restore good-will and harmony among all sections of our country. If they care for their rights as persons, and the sacredness of their homes, they will act with those who have stood up to resist arbitrary arrests, despotic legislation, and the overthrow of the judiciary. If, upon the other hand, they are willing to continue the present policy of Government and condition of affairs, let them act with that organization which made the present condition of our country. And there are many good men who will be led to do this by their passions and their prejudices; and our land swarms with placemen, who will hold upon power and plunder with a deadly grasp. But as for us, we are resolved that the party who have made the history of our country since their advent to power seem like some unnatural and terrible dream, shall be overthrown. Four years ago it had its birth upon this spot. Let us see, by our action, that it shall die here where it was born.

In the political contest in which we are now engaged, we do not seek partisan advantages. We are battling for the rights of those who belong to all political organizations. We mean that their rights of speech shall be unimpaired, although that right may be used to denounce us. We intend that rights of conscience shall be protected, although mistaken views of duty may turn the temples of religion into theatres for partisan denunciation. We mean that home rights and the sacredness of the fireside shall be respected by those in authority, no matter what political views may be held by those who sit beneath their roof-trees. When the Democratic party shall have gained power, we shall not be less, but more tenacious upon these subjects. We have forborne much because those who are now charged with the conduct of public affairs knew but little about the principles of our Government. We are unwilling to present an appearance of factious opposition. But when we shall have gained power, that official who shall violate one principle of law, one single right of the humblest man in our land, shall be punished by the full rigor of the law; it matters not if he sits in the presidential chair, or hold a humble office under our Government.

We have had upon this floor a touching and significant proof of the folly of this Administration, who have driven from its support those upon whom it chiefly leaned at the outset of this rebellion, when their hopes, even for their own personal safety, hung upon the noble men of the border States, who, under circumstances most trying, severed family relations and ancient associations to uphold the flag of our Union. Many of these men are members of this convention. They bear impressed upon their countenances and manifest in their persons the high and generous purposes which animate them; and yet it is true (great God, that it should be true!) that they are stung with a sense of the injustice and ingratitude of low and unworthy men, who have insulted and wronged them, their families, and their rights by vindictive legislation, or through the agency of miserable, dishonest subordinates.

Gentlemen, I trust that our proceedings will be marked by harmony. I believe we shall all be animated by the greatness of this

occasion. It may be—in all probability it is true—that the future destinies of our country hang upon our action. Let this consideration inspire us with a spirit of harmony. God of our fathers bless us now; lift us above all personal considerations; fill us with a just sense of the great responsibilities which rest upon us, and give again to our land its union, its peace, and its liberty.

I wish to say one word to the audience here assembled. The delegates who compose this convention have come up from different parts of the Union for the purpose of acting upon your most important interests. We are most happy that you should be the witnesses of our proceedings, but one thing you must bear in mind, that you are not members of this body, and while our hearts will be cheered to find that patriotic sentiments are received as patriotic sentiments should be by the American people, you must not undertake to attempt to influence the deliberations of the convention, or allow your feelings to take such forms of expression as are unbecoming in the presence of those upon whom rest the responsibilities of the occasion.

DECLINING TO BE A CANDIDATE.

[From the New York World Report.]

Several delegations having cast their votes for Horatio Seymour, when the call of the States had been gone through with, Governor Seymour remarked that, some gentlemen having done him the honor to name him for the nomination, it would be affectation to say that their expressions of preference did not give him pleasure. But he owed it to himself to say that, many months ago, he advised his friends in New York that, for various reasons, private and public, he could not be a candidate for the Chicago nomination. Having made that announcement, he would lack the honor of a man—he would do great injustice to those friends, to permit his name to be used now. As a member of the New York delegation he, personally, thought it advisable to support an eminent jurist of that State for the nomination; but he was not actuated in this by any doubt of the ability and patriotism of the distinguished gentleman who has been placed in nomination. He knew that General McClellan did not seek the nomination. He knew that that able officer had declared that it would be more agreeable to him to resume his position in the army; but he will not honor any the less the high position assigned him by the great majority of the country because he has not sought it. He desired to add a few words with reference to Maryland and her honored delegates here. Yesterday he did an act of injustice to a distinguished member of that delegation (Mr. Harris), because he (Seymour) did not understand the purport of his remarks, and he now desired to say that he was fully satisfied that that high-toned gentleman was incapable of taking a position in this convention, participating in its deliberations, and refusing to abide by its decisions. We are now appealing to the American people to unite and save our country. Let us not look back. It is with the present that we have to deal. Let by-gones be by-gones. He could say for our gallant nominee that no man's heart would grieve more than his for any

wrong done Maryland. As one who did not support him in my delegation, and as one who knows the man well, he felt bound to do him this justice. He (Governor Seymour) would pledge his life that when General McClellan is placed in the presidential chair he will devote all his energies to the best interests of his country, and to securing, never again to be invaded, all the rights and privileges of the people under the laws and the Constitution.

REMARKS ON ADJOURNING THE CONVENTION.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—The gentleman from Kentucky has moved that this convention do now adjourn. But before I put this resolution, allow me to return my best acknowledgments for the cordial thanks you have voted to myself and the other officers of this body. I will not detain you with any lengthened remarks, for I can say nothing to add to the effect of the proceedings of this convention. I know that every heart is full. I know that every man goes forth from here strengthened and confirmed in the conviction that we have added new years to the life of this republic. Gentlemen, we part to meet no more in our present relationship; but throughout the rest of our days we shall remember this meeting. May God Almighty bless you all in the future. May He grant it to you to live to see the day when good government shall be restored to this land of ours, when abuses shall be wiped away, this Union re-established, and fraternal relationship existing; so that, when our last hours come, we can thank God that we have lived again to see the days of American liberty and American prosperity.

Governor Seymour at Milwaukee, September 1, 1864.

Refers to Chicago Convention—Hoped the West might have prevented War—Expense of the War—Time has come to judge the Administration—Reviews the Military Situation—Condition of Border States—Official Order prohibiting People of Western States to bear Arms—Condition of West after Three Years of War—Believes War has been in vain—Condition of Kentucky—Reasons for supporting General McClellan—Effects of Republican Policy—Opposes centralized Power—Past Prosperity contrasted with present Condition.

I FEAR that my broken voice will not allow me to address you as I wish. I have come from an assemblage the most remarkable that ever met in this country of ours—an assemblage which was marked not alone by its enthusiasm and the vastness of its numbers, but also by its patriotic desire to restore peace to our distracted country, and to preserve its liberty and its union. It is in the spirit of that Convention that I would address a few words to you. I know that I am animated by no selfish or merely partisan desire to influence your judgment. I have experienced too frequently the hospitalities and courtesies of those who differ with me here in Milwaukee, to question the purity of their motives.

Three years ago I passed through this city, and had occasion to address you at that crisis in our public affairs. It was a little time after the public mind was aroused by the attack on Fort Sumter. I had hoped that a spirit of compromise and conciliation might prevent the shedding of blood. Failing in the East to secure the adoption of measures to this end, I turned my face to the West. I addressed myself not only to those of my own political faith, but also to those who differed from me. I hoped that the great West would take a position that would stop the flow of blood. The rapid increase of your population had increased your representative power in Congress. Had not Fort Sumter been fired upon, the West might have stepped in and distinguished the first exercise of her augmented power by the enactment of measures for the preservation of peace. Three years have passed away since I then stood near this spot. Then seventy-five thousand men had been called for by the Federal Government. It was believed to be an extravagant call. I looked upon it otherwise. I feared we did not appreciate the magnitude of the contest. Men of all parties, actuated by a spirit of patriotism, responded to the demand. It was promised that peace should be restored in less than ninety days. Three years have rolled away. The young men that responded to that call, where are they? More than five hundred thousand of our brave soldiers now sleep in their untimely graves. Look at the debt! An immense debt!—over two thousand millions of dollars, by the accounts of the Government itself. Over two millions of men have been called for since that time to bear arms in the struggle. Five hundred thousand more are to-day being called for. The nation is crushed down with taxation, and the war not ended. A point of time has arrived when it is the constitutional duty, as well as constitutional right of every American citizen, to inquire whether it is for the public interest to continue the war, and to sit in judgment upon the conduct of the Federal Administration. That duty we cannot escape. That duty we must meet in a spirit of patriotism, of candor and honesty. We must meet it boldly. In that spirit I now address you.

I would not denounce this Administration for casual acts of wrong. I would not condemn it because its members have erred in judgment. But I denounce it because I believe it has entered upon a settled policy dangerous to the welfare of our country. Looking at its policy in that light, it is my duty to denounce it freely and boldly. Why is that Administration now compelled to make a new demand upon us? It proposes to put down the rebellion by two powers; the power of policy and the power of the army. That it has failed is not the fault of the army. All over our country, by the banks of our rivers and along our sea-shores, the multitudes of new-made graves attest its devotion. There is no man who will stand up and denounce the conduct or courage of our soldiers. The lines of our marches toward Atlanta and Richmond are paved with their bodies. In the history of the world there has never been a more deadly conflict waged by valiant men than during the present summer. It would be a libel upon our army to assert that it has not done all, and more than all, too, that has been expected of it. Why is it then that we have not succeeded?

Turning from the consideration of the military power, let us ob-

serve the policy of the Government. To-day our forces compass the mouth of the Mississippi, are present in the harbor of Charleston, and are struggling for the possession of Georgia under Sherman. But let me tell you, also, that to-day it requires more men to hold in the Union the three States of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, than the whole number originally called for to suppress the rebellion. In the beginning these States repudiated secession. Three years ago the North responded with unanimity to the calls of the Government. When on my return from the West at that time, the people of Chicago, like the people of Milwaukee, were animated by a spirit of unanimity and patriotism. What do we see now? The Government has so little confidence in the people that by an official order, just issued, it denies to the people of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, one of the sacred rights of every American citizen. The Government has so little confidence in the people of these States that it fears to trust them with the privilege of bearing arms. The Constitution declares that this right shall not be infringed. Our fathers believed it necessary for the protection of the people from the encroachments of arbitrary power. You are told that the people of these States cannot be trusted with arms even to hunt their food upon your broad prairies.

The Administration has lost faith in the people of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, and they have lost faith in the Administration. If we have failed in this war, it is because the Administration has established a policy which has rendered ineffectual our efforts in the field. The result of the coming elections involves the liberty of our country. It is to decide whether you are to be safe in your own homes and by your own firesides; and there is no greater National trouble than that which penetrates the home and reaches the fireside. Greater questions, graver questions, questions which come more directly home to the hearts and interests of men, have never been submitted to the people for their arbitration; and in their decision, that which is for the interest of Democrats is also for the interest of Republicans. We believe we are to triumph in the contest. No man can doubt this who saw what I saw in Chicago. It was the largest number of men my eyes ever rested upon.

Three years ago, when I last visited Wisconsin, labor was hopeful and cheerful. I saw your prosperous husbandmen turning up the sod in your fields. I saw the mechanic happy at his bench. The frugal laborer was content with his wages and his fare. Man cared nothing for the light taxation assessed upon him under a good Government. Go where I might, I saw the evidence of public and private prosperity. Three years have passed away. You have given up to war one-half the number of your young men capable of bearing arms. In your workshops and on your farms labor is no longer cheerful. Men are told that they must leave their homes, that they must abandon the plough in the furrow, that they must turn away from spindle and loom and devote themselves to war. Mothers and sisters are in trouble by the family hearth, and when there is trouble there, there is no happiness in life. Under the policy of the Federal Administration this is not to be the last draft upon you. When I said to the officers of the Administration that a man enlisted from my State for three years ought to count as three men for one year for the coming conscription,

I was told that the proper credit would be given in the next draft to be made. Now, is there no mode by which the people can be protected from these frightful sacrifices, and the Union be saved? In God's name, are there no means by which we can save the lives of husbands and brothers? We mean to save the Union.

For three and a half years we have tried war in vain—in vain, as I believe, because of the policy of the Government. That policy has tended to prevent and not restore the Union. I ask my Republican friends to think considerably upon the circumstances in which we all are placed. We battle for you as well as for ourselves. When we shall gain power again there is no right we ask for ourselves we shall not secure to you. We have been deeply aggrieved, as we feel, by the policy of our rulers. Our rights have been infringed upon. The freedom of speech and of the press has been denied us. The sacredness of our homes has been impaired. We could not behold the fearful despoiling of our country going on without a feeling of humiliation. This division of our people among themselves pains me. But here I pledge myself that, if a Democratic Administration comes into power, and you, my Republican friends, shall have reason to complain of these wrongs, I will fight to the death to preserve you those rights which have been denied to us. Though my opponents make the pulpits of the land the source of deadly aspersions upon me, I will take my stand at their doors and give my blood to maintain their right to do so.

No thoughtful man will approach these questions without a feeling of humility. No man can contemplate these new-made graves of our land without feeling all the passions of his heart hushed, and his pride of opinion crushed, by the events of the past few years. We believe the policy of the Administration has placed hindrances in the way of the restoration of the Union. Its measures have hampered our efforts to that noble end. Those measures can bring to us neither Union nor peace.

It is nearly two years since the Government seized the mouth of the Mississippi river, and yet not a foot of land there is restored to the Union. The border States are held, too, by the force of arms. Had you been at the Convention at Chicago, you would have seen there men from Kentucky who, less than three years ago, were venerated in Congress, who bore on their faces the impress of patriotism of soul, honesty and virtue—Guthrie, with his towering strength, and Wickliffe, with his earnest love of liberty and law. Less than three years ago the Administration at Washington clung to these men for support. Yet these men, who have been separated from their families, and who have suffered as no man knows for the sake of the cause of the Union, came up to Chicago to complain of wrongs inflicted upon them by the Washington Government. Some of these men have been torn from their families, and have been locked up in prison. And women, too, though devoted to the Constitution and the Union. Can we put down a disaffection by creating disaffection? Are we making any progress in putting down disaffection, when, by the confession of the Administration itself, disaffection with the Government has extended to the Canada line? I appeal to you, have we made any progress in this war? We don't want slaughter, but peace, relief, protection. We want to stop the destruction of life.

The difficulty with the Administration is, that it is pledged to such measures that its moral power is gone. My Republican friends must know this, and must feel it in their hearts. I would not say one unkind word of those who compose the Administration; but even the New York *Tribune* admits that this exercise of power for four years has given rise to prejudices against it in the public mind; that it cannot hereafter successfully administer the Government. We propose to elect to the Presidency a patriot, a soldier, and a Christian—George B. McClellan. Every soldier says that he is a humane man, a patriot; and we all know that he is a forbearing man under the infliction of injustice. We have named him because we believed all could support him. We have shown our Republican friends that we can meet them part way. It was our duty to take a man whom, having been in the service of the Administration, Republicans could support. The only objection made to him at Chicago was, that in obedience to the behests of the Administration he had gone too far. We nominated him that we might restore prosperity and peace to the people.

For eighty years the Government was administered by conservative men. They preserved its unity and its concord. We had peace, and our country was an asylum for the oppressed of every land. Our Republican friends at Chicago, four years ago, did not mean to instigate this National strife. They did not want civil war. God forbid that I should charge them with that intention. But their views tended to strife, and such was the consequence, as we then believed it would be. We had read that meddling leads to strife, and we believed the safest policy was to observe the old adage, and mind our own business. The Republicans told us that they would not infringe upon the rights of States. But what do we see? They were led by their doctrines, passions, and prejudices, to violate the pledge. It was the necessary consequence.

We had been told that the South could not manage their own sectional affairs. We were told that if we were to stop the mouth of the Mississippi the Southern people would starve. We were told much about the superior cost of Southern mail carriage, and that the South could not be driven out of the Union. This course of dangerous agitation has continued until to day. The dominant party approves acts from the contemplation of which they once would have turned away with horror. Had I said here in Milwaukee, three years ago, that a general of the Federal army, this year, would issue an edict denying to the people of the North-west the right to bear arms, or that the writ of *habeas corpus* would now be suspended, and your citizens be subject to military arrest without the right of trial by jury, I should have been derided and scorned as a madman.

The passions and prejudices to which Republicans have been educated for so many years have led them to a position which they cannot retract. Their folly is illustrated by their action in Congress. At the moment when our armies were forced to abandon Northern soil, Congress was legislating to confiscate Southern property. Confiscation laws, however, apply more to the North than to the South. At the South they are ineffectual, and do not pay the expenses of their execution. It is your property, the property of Northern taxpayers, which is confiscated by this system of legislation.

What is the draft itself but a confiscation law? It takes one man's

person, but it takes another man's property. Reason seems blind with those persons. Congress was absurdly expending its time confiscating Southern property the very moment Lee's army was within sight of the dome of the Federal capitol.

We of the North did not know the power of the South. We did not dream, even, of the power of the North, and we are disappointed. The party in power has become so entangled by its own policy that no door is left open for retreat.

Those who visited Washington the past winter may have seen the hospitals filled with groaning and dying men. Going to the capitol, you heard only the language of sectional bitterness and hate. The measures advocated there, if persisted in and sustained, will overwhelm the country in common ruin.

We see in Lincoln's re-election no hope for the future. We cannot do worse. We don't claim to be better or wiser men than our opponents. God knows that the poor weak nature of man has little to boast of; but our views came from our fathers. They told us that great armies would bring ruin with them, and bring a horde of tax-gatherers in their train. More arbitrary government may possibly sometimes be a blessing, but there never was a tax-gatherer who was a blessing anywhere. Our fathers told us, that with a National debt would come a vast array of office-holders, and we behold them already present now.

There is another principle against which our fathers warned us, and I fear that it is the rock upon which we have split. You begin to have a centralization of power. Where is this to end? The framers of the Constitution understood the principle that the people in the several localities knew what they needed best. So we made a government of States with State rights. We have States of different size. Missouri is larger than all New England. Our fathers had this difficulty before them. We of New York then had not as large a population as Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. We said, let us be generous. Take care that Rhode Island has an equal power as a State with ourselves, and like ourselves controls its own local affairs, that there may be no jar in the political system. Now what? We are told that we must have more power in the Federal Government. The end of that is less power. That might be shown in a few words. Place more power in the Federal Government, and a few States may rule over all the others. Taxation would become unequal and be made to fall heavily upon particular branches of industry. The inequality which exists as to the States becoming centralized, and the power of the Federal Government will be unequally exercised. When men feel that the tribunal by which they are governed is not equally constituted, there is danger of perpetual war. We of New York wish to live on terms of peace with you of the West. But to do that we must not be permitted to exercise an unjust power over you through the Federal Government. To preserve peace we must not be permitted to intermeddle with your local affairs, and you must not be permitted to meddle with ours. The reservation of power to the States tends therefore to the peace and security of each and all. To give more power to the Federal Government renders it not stronger but weaker. This making the General Government stronger by a centralization of power is illustrated by the feat of the barrel which

attempted to become a hogshhead by bursting the hoops, when it became, not a hogshhead, but a bundle of staves. If the day ever comes when the General Government shall exercise more power, it will destroy itself. It is the idea of centralization—this idea that the Federal Government should exercise the powers reserved by the Constitution to the States, and attempting to do so, that is causing strife all over our land.

I implore you, therefore, to turn to the wisdom of your forefathers. Turn again toward the light of experience. Turn again to the worship of the principles on which our Government was founded, and you will find union, peace, and prosperity. Remember the eighty prosperous years of the past. I am confident, from a careful study of the theory of our Government, that if this doctrine of centralization prevails, our Government must be destroyed, and destroyed forever. Read again the Declaration of Independence; read again the Farewell Address of Washington; read again the history of the Revolution, and learn how it was we became great and prosperous, united and happy. Do not say, you who have faith in the policy of the Administration, when we complain of a departure from these principles of our fathers, that it is evidence of our disloyalty.

I remember that, on one occasion, you refused obedience to the Federal Government here in Wisconsin. When you did not like one of its laws you declared a determination to resist its execution. You were then a little forward in the doctrine of secession, if I may judge of the fact from your statutes.

I do not advocate any disrespect of the General Government. I have labored in my own State to secure obedience to all the lawful behests of the Administration, and we have humbled ourselves as to the Deity to satisfy its demands, so as to deserve no imputation of a disposition to deny the support it needed in the hour of danger. I feel convinced as I do of my existence that the policy of the Republican party leads to the popular discontents which are spreading wider every day. If you expect to govern Florida in accordance with that policy, you must pay the cost in blood and treasure. Let me tell you, men of Wisconsin, if you undertake to govern South Carolina, by denying to her the rights secured to her by the Constitution, it will cost you dearly.

If you attempt these things, then you will wipe out your property, and our country is in ruins. Eighty years under a prosperous Government, and three years of opposite experience—three years of sad and bloody experience—mark the contrast! We are already driven to the verge of ruin; every man knows that there is an amount of debt which leads to bankruptcy. Every man feels that there is a waste of life and blood which leads to anarchy. God grant us wisdom for our own Government! God grant patience to our people to resist these threatened calamities! Place that man in power whose personal integrity and whose pursuits in life were never impeached by the breath of slander. I never met the Republican who could question the purity of his character. We think he is an able man, too. But no matter, we intend to carry this election upon what lawyers call the general issue. We say the Democratic party is for the Union. We want the South back. We want the people of the South to obey the laws. This Administration cannot restore the

Union. We can save the Union. A just, wise, and humane policy will save it. Our victory will reëstablish the Constitution and bring back peace. We have no proclamations better than the Constitution itself. We stand free-handed. We stand resolved to bring Union and peace to the people. We ask you, in this hour of dread affliction, in this hour of death and mourning, to go with us, humbly and reverently, to the teachings of our fathers, that we may reëstablish union and peace. We demand no sacrifice. We have no pride of opinion. We arrogate to ourselves no excess of wisdom. We would draw a veil over the past. Together we will join in the redemption of our country, and together we will rejoice as we emerge from this war with the Government reëstablished in all its authority, with the Union restored to all its original strength, and the people imbued anew with the spirit of Christian civilization, and with the wisdom of our fathers.



Governor Seymour at New York, Sept. 8, 1864.

What was done at Chicago—Conduct of the War—Duties of the Administration—Faults of Policy—Border States—Right of the People to bear Arms.

NEITHER my health nor my voice will permit me to address you, save a very few words, but I could not forbear to say something to you upon this occasion. I have come back from the Chicago Convention. I was your representative there in part, and I stand before you now imbued with the spirit which animated that patriotic body of men, and the vast assembly which attended upon its proceedings. Animated with a hope that by our proceedings we might do something to restore the Union and bring back peace to our land, to uphold constitutional liberty, we met, in the city of the West, our brethren from other portions of our Union, in order to express our sentiments and to place in nomination a candidate for President. I have seen much of political gatherings, but never before did I attend a convention so absorbed by one single idea—to save our Union and to save our country—as pervaded that body of men. Not only was this true of the delegates of the several States who spoke, but it was true of the vast assembly of citizens who came up from every portion of our country to witness the deliberations of the convention. They had recently read the letter emanating from the President of the United States, "To all whom it may concern," and it concerned them all to find that this terrible war in which we have been engaged for three years, was not waged solely to restore our Union or to uphold our Constitution. They were deeply concerned to find that after three years of bloody struggle so little progress had been made by this Government in restoring peace to our distracted country. We are now called upon by our constitutional duties to sit in judgment upon this Administration. It is not only our right but our duty to inquire why it is, after we have spent more than two thousand millions of dollars, after we have given to this Government more than

two millions of men, why it is that, so far from our country being restored to its former condition, we are told by the Government itself that rebellious discontent has travelled northward, while our armies have fought their way, dispensing their lives and blood in Southern direction. Why is it, my friends, that there has been this utter failure to bring this war to a successful end? It must be either the fault of the policy of the Government, or it must be the fault of those who bear arms in support of our flag; it must be due either to the civil policy of the Government, or else it must be due to the fact that our armies have not come up to the full expectation of the public. Now, who will dare to say that this failure is due to the brave men who have battled so fearlessly in defence of the flag under which they are rallied? Who will dare to say that they failed in these efforts because the people of this country have withheld either their means or men in their efforts to uphold the Constitution and maintain the Union? Who, I ask, standing amidst the new-made graves of five hundred thousand men who have fallen victims in this war, will dare to say it is owing to want of bravery, want of zeal, or want of devotion on the part of the brave men who have battled thus under command of this Administration? Nay, more; I aver our armies have accomplished all that our community had a right to expect of them. They have done enough, if their efforts had been seconded by wise statesmanship, to restore peace to our land.

One year ago, after the battle of Gettysburg, after the taking of Vicksburg, after the opening of the Mississippi river, when we had sealed up the ports of Charleston, Savannah and Mobile, when we held possession of Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi river, had there been wisdom at Washington to have availed itself of the fruits of our victories and the advantages gained by the brave men on the battle-field, to-day we should have been living in peace under a restored Union, and under the Constitution that would be respected by all classes of men of our community. I charge them here, that the disgraceful failure which we have suffered is due, and due alone, to the policy of this Administration. It is chargeable upon their lack either of ability or of desire to terminate the contest which they find contributes so largely to their power and also to their advantage, and which ministers so much to their ambition. Now it has been charged upon us that we were untrue to the Union. We untrue to this Union! I ask you, in God's name, why should we be faithless to it? This glorious Union, the very work of that grand conservative party that for eighty years administered the affairs of our land, raising us from one of the feeblest of nationalities to one of the mightiest powers of the world! We untrue to the glorious Union, that was almost the sole work, so far as statesmanship was concerned, of the Democratic party, and of its great statesmen! Why, sir, it is not we who are afraid to have the States come back into this Union; it is not we who fear a fraternal relationship again with the people of the South; it is not that party who, outside of power, feels none of the advantages of this war, and feels so heavily its burdens. It is not such a party that tries to protract the struggle; it is not this party that stands in the way of the restoration of the Union. No, my friends, it is that party which from the beginning of this contest, by its legislation, by its proclamations, by its policy, by its passions, by its

hates, by its bigotry, and by its intolerance, has furnished all the obstacles which to-day prevent the seceding States coming back to their allegiance, and restoring peace to this land. Who asks any conditions to go before the restoration of the Union? Who is it that places proclamations above constitutions? Who is it that places some other question before the restoration of our Union? Read the letter of Abraham Lincoln and you will learn who it is that are the "conditional" Union men. Does our candidate ask conditions? Does he say, before this Union shall be restored some conditions should be put forth? Far, very far, from this; he asks, he demands, that whenever the people of the South will return again in the limits of this Union they shall have restored to them every constitutional right, every State right, every personal right, that is enjoyed in any portion of our country by any one.

I said our failure to restore our Union and bring back peace to our land was due to the policy of the Administration. You have had before you this night one of the most striking and touching evidences of the truth of this assertion. What spot of ground is there in this broad country of ours that has been pacified by the policy of the Administration? Our armies have gained possession of Louisiana. It has been held by them for nearly two years. It has been under the control of this Administration as to its civil policy. Have they brought it back into this Union? Have they restored to it peace, tranquillity, and prosperity? You know that it is not so, and you know the condition of Louisiana after two years occupation by our army, under the policy of this Administration, is worse than on the day it took military possession of that portion of our country. At the outset of this war your hearts were made glad, our hopes were strengthened, when we heard that the glorious State of Kentucky was true to the flag of our Union. More than that, turn to the papers of that day, and you will there see it stated among the evidences that Kentucky was true, that that glorious old patriot, Governor Wickliffe, stood by the Constitution and the country, and by its flag, although in so doing he perilled his own life and fortune. To-day we are told that Kentucky, that Missouri, that Maryland, and portions of Virginia that voluntarily remained in the Union under the guidance of men who were then held by all classes as patriots, to-day we are told that these men, after three years' experience of the policy of the Administration, are hostile to the Government. They are treated as if they had been traitors to the cause of our Union instead of being its firmest supporters, under circumstances of great trial and great embarrassment. Now this is true that, from the beginning of the war down to this moment, the policy of the Administration has been such that it has spread disaffection through our land; and while our armies have bravely and heroically battled their way to the South, the miserable policy of this Administration has, by their own statement, so bred discontent throughout the North, that to-day they will not allow the people of the States of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, all of which gave their votes for Abraham Lincoln, without whose votes he never could have been made President, —to-day one of the officers of Mr. Lincoln declares it is not safe to allow those people to purchase arms and ammunition, and every effort has been put forth to disarm them. Is this pacifying the country? Is this the policy that builds up our Union? Is this, I ask you, the

policy calculated to bring back peace to our land? Now, we must choose in this election between the two parties into which our population is divided. On the one hand you have a party made up of good men (and I do not stand here to assail them), having their full share of personal worth and personal intelligence, but nevertheless a party which is animated by mistaken political principles; a party that has allowed itself to be impelled in its action by sectional prejudices and sectional hate. The result of the ascendancy of this party has been discord, war, and the ruin of our land. In opposition to that party you have another, a time-honored organization, identified with all the glories of our history; an organization that is animated by sentiments the very opposite of those I have stated, made up of men who love their whole country, of those who mean to preserve this Union, of those who mean to bring back peace to our country, of those who mean to do battle in behalf of constitutional liberty. You must choose between the two; upon the result of that choice hangs the very destinies of our land. Four years more of such an Administration as we have had will work, my friends, irretrievable ruin to this great and glorious country of ours. We have placed in nomination a man who has shown his devotion to his country by perilling his person in behalf of its maintenance. We have nominated a man against whom not even our political opponents have ever breathed one word of reproach, so far as his personal purity and his character are concerned. We have placed in nomination a man who asks no condition for the restoration of this Union. A man who declares that it must and shall be preserved. A man whose name is dear in a thousand homes of our State. A man whose name is venerated by those who went forth at the outset, or who continue to go forth at this day, to fight the battles of our land. We have nominated George B. McClellan, the patriot and soldier. I am not able to say more at this time. I will therefore conclude with introducing to you another speaker, one who lives on the Pacific coast, a distinguished citizen of California. We love on these occasions to feel our own broad love for our country in having those to speak to us who come from its remotest bounds. We are honored to-night with the presence of one who has been a Governor of that distant State, and I will now introduce him to you in order that you may hear what he has to say for distant, golden California.

Order of Governor Seymour on the Death of General Russell.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, STATE OF NEW YORK, }
ALBANY, September 26, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 20.

With sorrow I announce the death of Brigadier-General David A. Russell, who was killed on the 19th instant, near Winchester, Va., by a cannon ball, whilst leading his command in battle. Thus befittingly on the field of combat, in the hour of signal victory, after an honorable career by no means brief, this officer met his fate. This event

will fall with painful force upon the hearts of his immediate friends, for whom I need not bespeak the sympathies of a grateful country. General Russell's official record is his abundant claim to public regard. Graduated at the military academy of West Point, he entered the service, and soon after took the field in the war with Mexico. He served throughout that war, was twice taken prisoner, and was brevetted lieutenant for gallant and meritorious conduct at Cerro Gordo, and elsewhere. He passed ten years on the Western frontier, and when recalled to take part in the present war was acting commander of his regiment. Entering as colonel of the Seventh Massachusetts Volunteers, he was three times promoted in the regular army for distinguished services in the campaign. Soon after he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers. He passed through all the subsequent battles of the Army of the Potomac, and in November last was assigned to the command of the first division of the Sixth Army Corps, at the head of which veteran force he continued until the close of his bright and valuable life.

The funeral is to be attended from his late home in Salem, Washington county, on the afternoon of the 27th instant. In token of respect to his memory, the National flag will be displayed at half-mast on the capitol, and upon all the arsenals of the State throughout that day.

HORATIO SEYMOUR,
Governor and Commander in Chief.

Official :—JOHN T. SPRAGUE, Adjutant-General.

Correspondence on the Completion of the Quota of New York.

MR. BLUNT TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

COUNTY VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE, }
NEW YORK, September 28, 1864. }

TO HIS EXCELLENCY HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor State of New York :—Sir—I have this day obtained from Brigadier-General William Hays, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal of this District, a certificate, showing that the quota of New York, under all calls, is full.

In view of the efforts made by you in our behalf, especially in the controversy relative to the reduction of the enrolment of 1864, and the quota under the last call, I deem it incumbent on me to express to you, at this time, our sense of our obligation to you.

So much is due to your assistance in seconding our exertions to avert the threatened evil of the draft, that it seems but meet that this acknowledgment should be made.

I have the honor to subscribe myself your very obedient servant,

(Signed)

ORISON BLUNT,
Chairman N. Y. County Vol. Com.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO MR. BLUNT.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, September 29, 1864. }

HON. ORISON BLUNT:—Sir—I have received yours, advising me that the quota of the city of New York has been filled. This auspicious result is mainly due to the large credit given by the War Department for enlistments into the navy. It was a work of immense labor to show the number of sailors who went into the naval service from your harbor.

This was done so clearly that no ground was left for doubt or dispute. The large and numerous volumes giving the names of each person enlisting, make an unusual and impressive monument of official labor and fidelity. While this Department has been happy to co-operate with you and your board in any measure intended to save your city from a disastrous demand upon its population, it is my pleasant duty to say that the great toil and perplexity of getting together the mass of testimony was borne by you. Without your action it would not have been possible to have established the claims of this State.

As its Chief Magistrate, I thank you for the industry, vigor, and zeal you have shown, in saving the citizens of New York from a great load of debt, and from an injurious drain upon its population.

You are entitled to their gratitude for this great service.

Truly yours, &c.

(Signed) HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Speech of Governor Seymour to the McClellan Legion, New York, October 4, 1864.

MEMBERS OF THE MCCLELLAN LEGION:—I thank you for this compliment, one which I value more highly because it comes from men who have proved by their deeds that they are earnest and sincere in their sentiments. After fighting in the field for the flag of your country, you are now battling as faithfully and as patriotically at home for the Constitution of your land.

You have not only been willing to peril your lives upon the battlefield, but you now stand forth as defenders of the rights of free thought and free speech; of constitutional liberty, and of the Union of our country. I thank God that at least in the State of New York, the cheers of freemen may go up for personal rights, for constitutional guarantees; the more particularly at this moment, when in some of the glorious States of this Union—in ancient Maryland, in glorious Kentucky, and in far distant Missouri—the attempt has been made to limit and to crush out the rights of the people of this country. My friends, I cannot speak to you to-night. It will be my duty soon to address another audience, and I fear that my voice may fail me. Once more then I thank you for this manifestation of regard, and once more I invoke you to stand up bravely and loyally for the old principles of American liberty, not only for the State of New York, but for every State of this confederacy. It will be my pride to

join with you in this campaign in the earnest support of one of your fellow-soldiers, who has ever shown himself not only brave as a soldier, but true as a man, and patriotic as a citizen—George B. McClellan.

Governor Seymour requests Furloughs for Soldiers to vote.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR TO SECRETARY STANTON.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
ALBANY, October 4, 1864. }

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—Dear Sir—A large number of the soldiers of the State of New York, in the service of the United States, and in army hospitals, are desirous to have furloughs, that they may repair to their respective homes to cast their votes personally at the coming election. I respectfully ask, therefore, that an order for such furloughs may be issued, embracing, so far as may be compatible with the interests of the public service, all who are able to avail themselves of such privilege.

Very respectfully,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

SECRETARY STANTON'S REPLY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, }
October 6, 1864. }

SIR:—In reply to your note of the 4th inst., just received, I have the honor to state that last year furloughs and transportation were furnished all New York soldiers in hospital, who were unfit for duty, but able and desired to go home and vote at the annual election, and that it is the design of this department to furnish those who may be able to go home with the same permission and facilities for exercising the elective franchise at the approaching election.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

HIS EXCELLENCY HORATIO SEYMOUR, Albany.

Governor Seymour at Philadelphia, October 5, 1864.

Action of New York in the War—Duties of the Governor—The Waste of War—Patriotism of the Northern People—Reviews the Conduct of the Administration—Commends the Army and Navy—Effect of the War upon the People at Home—Condition of the border States—Orders of the Administration in Maryland and in the Western States—Contrasts Period of War with Time preceding—Unconstitutionality of Congressional Acts—Arbitrary Arrests—Conduct of Administration toward People of the South—Mr. Lincoln—Character of his Policy—Hopes and Fears for Future—Reasons why Democracy should settle Difficulties—The Confiscation Laws—Enlistments and the Draft—Armies after the War.

FELLOW CITIZENS :—I am suffering great pain from illness, and therefore must crave your indulgence while I attempt to speak to you with regard to the great issues which at this time agitate the minds of the American people. I stand before you to-night, impressed with the magnitude of these issues. I stand before you an earnest man. I may hold mistaken views, but God knows, I utter no word which is not prompted by the deep convictions of my judgment. I do not stand here to night in the spirit of intolerance, or to excite your passions or your prejudices against that portion of our fellow-citizens who do not agree with us in political sentiment. If I am honored by the presence of one of those who differ with us in regard to our duty at this time, I ask him that for the moment he will lay aside his prejudices and listen to me while I shall attempt to show him, with entire respect, why I believe it is not in the power of this Administration to save the Union, and that to place that Administration in power for four years more, would be dangerous to the liberties of the Union. I do not claim superior wisdom. I do not claim for the Democratic party unerring judgment. I do not ask our Republican friends to yield to us in any degree, but simply to listen to the wisdom of our fathers. I ask them to return to the paths they trod when our country was great and prosperous.

I look upon public affairs from a peculiar stand-point—one which gives me opportunities of seeing the waste of this terrible war in which we are engaged. The State of New York, since the commencement of this war, has sent about three hundred and fifty thousand men to the field. We have contributed in our due proportion—as the State of Pennsylvania, and other States in this confederacy, have contributed their just quota—to sustain the armies of the Government in the contest in which it is engaged. You know that under the peculiar organizations of the State governments, the Governors of the respective States have many opportunities of knowing of the progress of the war better than the Administration at Washington. It has been my duty to commission the officers of the State of New York. It has been my painful duty to give commissions to the young men of that State who have gone forth in the bloom and beauty and pride of their manhood, alas! many of them never to return to their peaceful homes and the embraces of their families. I have seen much of the waste of this terrible war in sweeping our young men into early graves, or imposing upon our country unwonted taxation that, in

various forms, has been imposed upon our country to enable it to carry on the war to a successful issue.

Standing then amid the new-made graves of hundreds and thousands of our strong and vigorous young men, the hope of our country, we should be recreant to our duty, false to liberty, and untrue to the memory of our fathers, if we did not call this Administration to judgment, and demand of them an account of the blood and treasure that they have called for, and which has been so freely poured forth at their command. Under the Constitution of the United States, it is not only our right but our duty to sit in judgment upon the policy of that Administration. We are to do this not in any spirit of passion or prejudice, but as it becomes men intrusted with the great liberties conferred upon us by the Constitution of our land. This war has been carried on for three years. This Government has had placed at its disposal about two million five hundred thousand men. There has been no demand made upon the country for money that has not been responded to by all classes of citizens. I appeal to you, my Republican friends, if this is not true? While we have differed with you on questions of policy, while we have thought that this Administration was not conducting the war on right principles, I appeal to you, in this hour of our country's danger, to know whether we, as well as you, have not made a free response to the demands which our Government has made upon us.

I do not propose to go into any history of the war. I accept the fact that we are at war. I accept the fact that the country is now brought to the extreme verge of peril, and the questions of to-night are not the questions of the past. We are not to ask ourselves what brought the war about; the question is how the country can preserve its existence and perpetuate its liberties. Draw the curtain over the past, and let us, in the spirit of true manhood, without reference to past differences, determine what we shall do to save the country. We have given to this Administration, as I have said, more than two millions of men. You know how promptly their demands have been met; you know that, from time to time, they have promised us decisive results, and you know how these expectations have been disappointed. When this war was commenced the Government relied upon two forces to produce submission to its authority. One was the force of the armies, and the second was the force of the policy of the Government. Why have we continued the war for these four years without causing the South to submit to arms? Is it because the people have not given to the Government all the support it demanded? Has it been because our sons and brothers who have gone forth to the contest have been untrue and recreant in the hour of conflict? I repel the charge if any man be found base enough to make it. I admit that the war has been waged with varying fortunes. I admit that we have sustained disasters as well as gained victories, but I contend that never, in the history of the world, have a people responded to the call of a government as our people have responded to the call of this Administration, and never has such heroism been displayed as has been displayed by our armies in the field. The Administration has been gratified in every wish, and the war is not at an end, nor is peace restored.

Has the army failed in its duty? Go to the swamps of Virginia; go

to the sea-coast of South Carolina ; go to the tropical fields of Louisiana, and you will find everywhere the graves of the American soldier. The soil of Virginia is become to us a sacred soil in a new and terrible significance. At the beginning of the war the Administration said that if we would give them seventy-five thousand men they would put down resistance. You gave them seventy-five thousand men and the resistance was not put down. I do not find fault with the Administration for not accomplishing this with an inferior force, but I do insist that when they assumed charge of the Government of the country that they were bound to have known more of the resources of the South ; they were bound to have known more of the character of our countrymen. Do you remember that three or four years ago it was unsafe for any man to stand up in this community and attempt to show the resources and strength of the South ? These things were overlooked in the spirit of arrogance, and we were told that all this resistance could be crushed out with a little force, and if any one did not believe it, he was disloyal to his country, and held treasonable views. Now, I say that our armies, after they were filled to their proper proportions, did accomplish all that was required of them. They said " Close up the Mississippi river, seal up the ports of the South, and the rebellion will die of itself ; the South is not self-sustaining." The Mississippi river was closed, the ports of the South were sealed, and the rebellion did not die. Then larger armies were needed, and the whole world was astonished at the call for six hundred thousand men. The cry was changed. They now said, " Open the Mississippi river, give us control of the great highway of the West, and it will bring peace and the submission of the South."

Vicksburg was taken and the Mississippi was open for the transportation of our armies and the munitions of war. There was no organized force in opposition to the Union west of the Mississippi river. Not only was Vicksburg captured, but the army of Pemberton was destroyed. West of the Mississippi river there was not an organized force of any respectable strength opposing the Union troops. Lee's army was defeated at Gettysburg. Following these victories the country gave the Government six or seven hundred thousand men to add to the armies in the field. And more : the people, thinking that they could trust this Administration, gave them also political power, so that they stood nine months ago, not only a Government at the head of the greatest armies ever known in history, but a Government that, as the elections in the free States showed, was sustained by the people through the whole Union. I believe that all, notwithstanding political views and political prejudices, will admit that our armies have done their work. We, in common with our Republican friends, have honored the names of Grant and Farragut, Sherman and Sheridan, and all the heroes of the war. We deny that their efforts have been unsuccessful, and the blame of continued war is not with our armies. The blame rests elsewhere. It is the Administration which has failed to bring this war to a close. I aver that the failure is only due to the policy of the Administration. I aver that our armies have not only overcome the forces of armed resistance, but have done it while at every step they have been hindered by the action of the Government at Washington. The lives of the people of the North have been cut off, and the progress of our armies at the South obstructed,

by measures of the Administration, which have been most fatal to us in the prosecution of the war. I do not deal in merely argumentative speculations.

I call your attention to what our armies have done. The army, more than two years ago, gave us possession of Louisiana, and of the great commercial port of New Orleans. For two years the Administration has had its own way there; what has been the result of those two years of government? They have not tranquillized one foot of land. Every man knows that the civil, political, and business condition of that State is worse to-day than it was when the armies of our country handed it over to the control of the Administration at Washington. In order to determine how far the Administration at Washington has availed itself of our victories, I call your attention to the condition of our country at the outset of that war, and then to its condition to-day. Our armies, at an enormous expenditure of life and of treasure, to you and to the people of every Northern State, have battled courageously southward, but what has the Administration done behind them? We have it from their own lips; it is set forth in their own edicts and their own orders—the orders which have been issued by the generals in the field, with the sanction of the Administration—that rebellious discontent has travelled northward as our armies have fought their way south.

The State of Missouri remained in this Union of its own will. There was love enough there for the Union to put down resistance to the authority of the General Government at the very outset. How is it to-day? After three years of rule of the Administration at Washington, you are compelled to make contributions in men and in money to hold in the Union by force a State which originally was with us of its own will. Look at the condition of Kentucky, one of the most glorious States in the Union, which in former times gave us statesmen whose names we love to remember—the names of Clay and of Crittenden, and is associated with the memory of Jackson. When armed resistance to the authority of the Government first began, the people of Kentucky resolved to stand by us. They severed the ties of consanguinity; they broke away from the dearest associations of relationship, and you remember with what joy we hailed such men as Wickliffe, Guthrie and Crittenden, who stood by the flag and Constitution of our land. But since the Government at Washington has taken the control of that State in hand all has changed. The presence of armies is now required there, and those men who were with us at the outset now come here to tell you of injury and insult to which they have been subjected. My friends, it would bring tears into the eyes of the strongest men in this audience if they could listen to the recitals of men like Wickliffe, Guthrie, and others, when they tell us of the insults and wrongs heaped, not upon men alone, but upon women—refined women. I ask, in God's name, in this land of ours, are men so lost to all sense of manhood that they would tear a gentle sister and the loving wife from their homes because they still cherish a love for one who may be fighting under the flag of the South? Now, I care not how severely war may be waged against men, but I do protest in the name of all civilization, I do protest by the love we bear to our families, I do protest in the name of the most sacred relationship, that to punish a woman

for an exhibition of true womanhood, for clinging with love and tenderness even to the erring, is mean tyranny, unparalleled in history. I met those men a few days since at Chicago. Their forms, their countenances, and all about them, bore the air of true nobility, and when they stated in the convention the wrongs and outrages to which they had been subjected by an ungrateful Administration, an Administration which clung to them like frightened children in the early hours of peril, it drew tears into every eye, and we felt that there could be no hopes from an Administration that could sink so far below the level of manhood as to heap such insults upon the people of Kentucky. What has the Administration done for the Union in its management of that great State?

But go a little further eastward, to the State of Maryland. It is, perhaps, doubtful what course that State would have taken, if left free to act for itself; but I ask you if, for the past three years, the control of the Government in shaping its policy and its domestic relationship has been of a character that tended to bring that State back to its allegiance? You know it to be true that men of that State who clung with patriotic devotion to the flag of their country, are to-day writhing under the injustice of this Government, and cursing it from their very hearts, because they have been thus trampled upon. Within three days a general who holds a military control in that State, ordered the only paper there which had put up the name of George B. McClellan for the presidency, to be suppressed. The people of Maryland were undertaking the discharge of a great and solemn duty when they entered into this presidential canvas. It is their right to criticise the action of this Administration. What reason was given (and I invite your attention to it), what reason was given for this action. If this paper had violated the laws, why not bring its proprietors into court; why not make some charge against them? But the order states that the commanding officer fears there will be popular violence. We are actually told that within forty miles of the very capital itself—under the shadow of the vast armies we have given it—the Administration cannot guarantee protection to citizens in the exercise of their chartered rights. When your delegates met at Chicago for the purpose of placing a presidential ticket in nomination, an order was issued by another general (and it has not been disapproved) that the people of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana—States that placed Mr. Lincoln in the presidential chair; that gave him overwhelming majorities—should not be permitted to purchase shot, powder, ammunition, or arms of any description. And thus you are told by another order that, as I said, while our armies are battling southward, rebellious discontent is travelling northward, until it has reached the lakes, and in the three great States of the Union, this Administration has lost confidence in the people—aye, and the people have lost confidence in it. I will not follow this subject further, but I implore each man within the sound of my voice, to lay the map of our country before him, then to take the edicts of generals and the legislation of Congress, and see how far, by the showing of the Administration and its friends, discontent has spread itself since the commencement of this war.

Is it then not a gross wrong to the people of this country, and to the armies of the country, for them to point you to the battle-field and tell you there is but one way to restore the integrity of this Gov-

ernment, and that by force, and force alone. They tell you this to divert your attention from the fact that they have not only signally failed to co-operate with the army and to avail themselves of victories, but have undone the work of the soldier, and made it impossible for themselves to restore the Union, whether we have victories or not. I will assume that in the next thirty days the army of Lee is destroyed, that of Hood annihilated, and every form of organized opposition is driven out of the field, and then our Republican friends who have looked forward hopefully to victories that were to bring us peace and union, will see, for the first time, the full measure of the impolicy of the acts of the Administration. For the first time they will see the dangerous position into which our country has drifted, amid the smoke and carnage of battle. These victories will only establish military governments at the South, to be upheld at the expense of Northern lives and treasure. They will bring no real peace if they only introduce a system of wild theories, which will waste as war wastes; theories which will bring us to bankruptcy and ruin. The Administration cannot give us union or peace after victories.

Men of Pennsylvania, I remember that in former years, our country, under the policy of conservative men, increased from a people of three millions to a nation of thirty millions; that within the lifetime of one man it advanced from a feeble colonial existence into the full measure of one of the mightiest powers upon the face of the earth. I saw the husbandman cheerfully laboring, sure of the fruits of his toil. The light taxation that fell upon him was nothing. He could count his gain almost clear as he pondered how he would give some new comfort to his family—some new advantage of education, or of social condition to his children. I saw cheerful labor in your workshops, the machinery instinct with life that seemed to perform the duties almost of animated men. I saw your streams leap forth in the morning from your hills, and glide away at evening into their rest, after turning the mechanism which gave wealth to your State. To-day, the weary laborer turns up the sod with the consciousness that the larger part of his produce must go to pay the cost of bloodshed and carnage; and he labors on with still less courage when he feels that, perhaps, the son that he has looked to as the companion of his labor hereafter, is to be torn from him for the purposes of war. When I enter your homes I find that the mothers, the sisters, and the wives, go less cheerfully to their daily duties; and when there is sadness by the fireside, there is sadness and gloom throughout all the land.

How can we return again to our former condition, free and prosperous, the admiration and envy of the world? Men tell you that victories will do it. Victories alone will not bring back these things. If we had had a wise, just, magnanimous Administration, we have already won victories enough to have given us peace, prosperity, and National happiness. It is only because the public mind has been occupied with the great drama of war, it is only because you have been watching with fearful anxiety your sons and brothers in the field, that you have not seen the full measure of the evils which the policy of this Administration has brought upon the country. If six months ago we had achieved complete military success, and the smoke of battle were now wafted away, there would not be found to-day one man in the land to stand up and say that it was wise or well to

replace this Administration in power. Let us then assume that we have gained victory, and inquire if with victories this Administration can restore peace to the land.

In the first place, you have seen how it has been in those States that have been brought back to the Union, in the border States that never went out of the Union, and in those States which gave to the Administration not only military and pecuniary support, but even political support. We have found that precisely as we have given the Administration political power, in the same ratio they have trodden down our political rights. When the Administration went beyond the efforts to restore the Union and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and said, we will drive the Southern people to desperation, we will unite them as one man in opposition to our armies, we will shed the blood of our people and pile upon them onerous taxes, in order that we may carry out a vindictive and revengeful policy of confiscation, they did not stop at this. There was no unconstitutional act passed in regard to the South that was not accompanied by an unconstitutional invasion of the rights of the people of the North. When they said to the South, "You shall not have Union as it was;" when they said, as the Attorney-General of my own State said, in this city, a few days ago, "We do not want the Union as it was, but the Union as it ought to be," they also suspended the habeas corpus in the North. When they projected confiscation for the South, the courts, laws, and judiciary of the North were trampled under foot, your personal rights were not secure, and for the first time our homes were liable to be invaded by the subordinates of the Government. In Great Britain, the humblest hut in the kingdom, although it may be open to the winds and rains of heaven, is to the occupant a castle impregnable even to the monarch, while in our country the meanest and most unworthy underling of power is licensed to break within the sacred precincts of our homes.

But look further: as I said, armed opposition is driven from the fields of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and parts of Louisiana, and yet this portion of country, already conquered, requires more troops to hold it under military rule than are demanded for our armies to fight the embattled forces of the Confederacy. If you will make the computation for yourselves, from the proportion of troops required to hold these States, you will find that more men will be needed to keep the South in subjection to the arbitrary projects of the Administration than are required to drive the armies of rebellion from the field. The peace you are promised is no peace, but is a condition which will perpetuate and make enduring all the worst features of this war. They have passed an act of confiscation. They say to the people of the South, When we have conquered you, we will take from you your homes and your property and drive you out without shelter in the world. This cannot be called a war measure, because the property of a people cannot be confiscated until you can lay your hands on it. It is not a measure to help our armies, for the threat of confiscation renders the resistance to them more determined and desperate. But it may be said "When we achieve victories, then we intend to be lenient." But if you intend to be lenient after victory, why did you pass these laws to hinder victory? But they have done more; they have said we will mould their institutions; we will place them under a military gov-

ernment. Mr. Sumner would reduce the Southern States to the condition of colonies, but Mr. Lincoln says they shall be admitted back as States, when one-tenth of the population shall ask it, and this one-tenth shall govern, control and represent the State; but if only one-tenth of the people are willing to come back, who is to hold the other nine-tenths in subjugation? At whose expense is it to be done? My friends of Pennsylvania, if you want to govern Georgia—if you want to enable one-tenth of its people to exercise this extraordinary power over the other nine-tenths, you must pay for the privilege; you must give up your sons to the work; you must give them up to die of lingering diseases, sickening and sad, far away from their homes, without even the poor privilege which they now have of knowing that they die upon the battle-field for the flag of their country. Every intelligent officer of our army will tell you that waste of life is not so great during the most active service as in periods of inaction, when the men are herded together in camps, when the mind becomes stagnant, and the system becomes peculiarly susceptible to disease; then it is that the work of death goes swiftly on. Are you willing, men of Pennsylvania, to give up your sons to the slow, lingering death of Southern camps? In God's name, for what? To inaugurate this monstrous government of one-tenth in violation of all the principles of American liberty; to allow the Administration this precedent, dangerous to yourselves, that it is wise and right to maintain a military subjection at this enormous cost of blood and treasure. If this policy prevails, you are to have a series of drafts upon your population; you are to have increased burdens of taxation thrown upon your labor, you are to have a perpetuation of that maxim which men are not ashamed to put forth, that monstrous libel upon our institutions, that in times of war there are no rights which the head of your Government is bound to respect.

Read the Declaration of Independence; read your Constitution. When were those great principles of public liberty and private security established? Where was it that you had worked out for you the guarantees that were afterward engraven in the Constitution; that your rights of conscience should not be interfered with; that you should have freedom of speech; that no man should lay his hand upon your person unless he did so by the sacred authority of the law; that your home, though it might be the humblest in the land, yet all blessed as the shrine of domestic love and affection, should be to you a tower of strength, secure and inviolable? How were these guarantees obtained? They were won by your fathers upon the battle-field. War does not extinguish liberty. We fought our war of the Revolution to win, preserve and perpetuate liberty. War does not suspend the rights of men, and he who dares to say that Abraham Lincoln, at the head of his enormous armies, may rightfully do what George Washington would not do in the darkest hour of the Revolution, does not know what constitutional liberty is. The Union cannot be restored under this policy. It is not possible to hold that vast extent of country, with its peculiarity of climate and condition, in military subjection. It is claimed by our Republican friends that these are war measures, but that when the victories are gained the Government will be magnanimous. I hope this may be true, but what has been the teaching of the past? Is it not true, my Republican hearers, that after the news of some signal victory, won at the common cost of all the citizens of the Northern

States, you display toward those who differ from you an arrogance that you did not display the day before ?

Has the policy of the Government been made magnanimous, National, and patriotic by victory ? I point you to the legislation of last winter, after the wonderful success of our armies. If you had visited Washington you would have found thirty thousand men lying in your hospitals. Day after day the dead were borne forth to be deposited in their graves, and your hearts would have sickened at the sight of pain and death. Then if you had left the hospital, with its rude and humble appointments, after having seen the devotion of these suffering men, whose eyes, perchance, amidst the deepest agony or in their dying hours, would light up at the sight of their country's flag, and after having been impressed with their virtue, their courage, and their patriotism, if you had passed to the capitol, and walked through its gilded halls, adorned with all that art and riches could place there, with every emblem that told of our former greatness and liberty, and listened to the representatives of the people assembled there, you would have heard with astonished ears, that in this hour of victory they were pouring forth the language of bitterness, vindictiveness, and strife. Has this Government been made magnanimous, just, or generous by victories ? I appeal to you again, my Republican friend, if it is not true that in your daily walks of life you have manifested the same courtesy and consideration toward those who disagree with you in matters of judgment in the hour of victory, that you did when, in the darkest hour of the Republic, you cried, "Let us lay aside all differences of opinion, and rally once more around the flag of our country." Read over the acts of vindictive legislation passed in the last three years ; acts of confiscation, acts of punishment, acts of expatriation, acts sanctioning the violation of your most sacred rights and liberties, and say whether the history of the past gives you a right to hope for wisdom and magnanimity in the future. These acts must be repealed before the country can be united and tranquillized.

The Administration must say to the people of the South, "Come back again and enjoy with us constitutional liberty, for if it is denied to you, in the end it will be denied to us." Let us forget the immediate past, and go back to the story of the Revolution. Our flag would not be complete ; the glorious catalogue of the States of this Union would be imperfect, if we were to strike out the homes of Marion or Sumter, the grave of Jackson, and the birth-place of so many men associated with our history. If they tell you they will repeal these acts, they tell you they intend to do what they should have done a year ago. But they cannot and will not repeal these laws. I would not say one unkind word of the President of these United States. I would speak of him respectfully as the head of the Government ; but neither Mr. Lincoln or his cabinet have now control over National affairs. I believe most sincerely that if it was in the power of Abraham Lincoln and the members of his cabinet to undo the past, they would cheerfully wipe it out. I believe if they were able to resume again their private stations, and felt themselves safe from an injured, outraged and deceived community ; if they felt the laws they had violated would not be used against them, they would with joy leave the places of power, and give the Government into other hands.

Why was Mr. Lincoln nominated at Baltimore against the judgment of three-fourths of his own party, against the judgment of almost all the Republican members of the Senate? They were opposed to the nomination of any man who had identified himself with illegal arrests, and with violation of constitutional law. I ask you this question, my Republican friends, and I ask it with all respect and sincerity. God knows my heart, that in this sad moment I cherish no resentment. I wish for nothing but the good of my country, and the salvation of its liberties. In their private conversations they freely acknowledged that they preferred some other man than Mr. Lincoln. It was natural, of course, that those who held place under him should desire his nomination. But the one great operating cause that produced his nomination was this, that there were men in the army, and others surrounding him, who did not dare to let him go into private life, who did not dare to be brought back under the jurisdiction of the laws of the land, of the judgment of their peers. The nomination was made because men who had enriched themselves by unworthy means from the treasury of the country, feared to be brought to that account to which they will be brought when our Government is restored, and our Union reinstated.

Mr. Lincoln and his Administration will not repeal the law that denies you any remedy against wrong done by them to your person or property, because they know that to do this is to bring themselves to judgment. They will not pursue a course that will give us a restored Union, because a restored Union reinstates the authority of law, and there would be an investigation of the frauds and failures that, in an unusual degree, have marked the conduct of affairs during the last three and a half years. I do not mean to say that the Administration is to be condemned because, under circumstances so unusual as those which have existed during this war, bad men have taken advantage of the confusion in affairs to do acts of wrong. But I do complain that when these wrongs are done, the Government deliberately passes laws that protect the doer, and thus makes wrongdoing its own act. Moreover, in an election like this, when the Government is spending such an enormous amount of money, and the liability to peculation is so great, the Administration that will say to contractors, as has been openly said in circulars: "You have had a good contract, out of which you have made money, and we expect you to use a part of that money to assist to replace us in power," renders itself a partner in fraud and corruption. The contractor will say to this Government: "You shall not make a peace that shall put an end to all my profits. You called upon me to give my money, in violation of the laws of the land, to put you in power; you called upon me to do that which every great man has said is subversive of constitutional liberty and good order; and now, when you have gained your share of the triumph, you shall not turn around and cheat me of my share of the spoils." Has the Administration under these circumstances the power to stop this plunder and this drain upon the people of the country? They cannot do it. They have placed themselves in the power of men who can bring them before a grand jury and punish them as criminals for their acts. They cannot retrace their steps. It is impossible for them to restore the Union and bring back the South to her former fraternal relationship

without saying that all they have done for the last three years, has been wrong. Suppose there is a victory, and you call upon Mr. Lincoln to give us again peace, prosperity, and National happiness; to do the work of pacification by assuring the people of the South that, if they return, they shall have again at least the security of their homes. Mr. Lincoln lifts his manacled hand, and says: "I cannot; there is the confiscation law which I must obey." We beg him that he will, at least, allow them to live under their own State governments, so that we may be relieved of taxation necessary to maintain a military government. Again Mr. Lincoln lifts a manacled hand, and says: "I cannot; there is my proclamation. I stand before the country shackled by proclamation and shackled by acts of Congress. I can do nothing to pacify the South." He is powerless unless he can induce Congress to undo all it has done. He cannot discard the wishes of those who have become his masters; for one man makes another his master when he enters into an arrangement with him that will not bear the inspection of the world or the investigation of the laws of the land. The Democratic party can restore the Union, and I believe it will. If that is true, then I appeal to my Republican friends if they are not bound to give the Government into our hands? Will any man say that we engage in this contest for political triumph? What is a political triumph? I stand before you to-night a candidate in my own State for an honorable office. What matters it if politics alone were to be considered, whether I am elected or beaten? A few brief years, and I shall pass away and slumber in the grave; in a little time we, with all our passions, our hopes, and our fears, shall be no more. In the issues of this contest are the destiny of our country, the liberty of our land, the preservation of the Constitution, the union of the States. We do not battle for constitutional law and for personal rights for ourselves alone. A change of parties may, perhaps, make you, my Republican friends, the objects of wrong under the precedents that you yourselves have established; but we battle for your rights as well as our own. There is no man living who values the good opinion of others more than I do; but when the Democratic party comes into power, if any man in this land sees fit, in the most public place, to stand up and denounce me as all that is bad and base, I pledge myself here I will battle for his right to do so at the cost of my life. I wish that all could feel as I do on matters of religion; that they should love the gospel of peace and good-will; that they would speak kindly even of the erring, and that Christian love and charity should abound in all the relations of life. But if there be those who would convert the temples of God into arenas for fierce, vindictive, partisan demonstrations, I will stand in front of their porch and defend to the utmost their right to do so. We battle not for a party, but for all. In ordinary political elections the interests of the party may be a sufficient object, but now there is too much at stake. I therefore aver that when our Republican friends say to you and to me: "You sympathize with the South; you have kindly feelings for the South," they only say, "You can make peace with the South better than we."

When they charge that we had ancient affiliations and cordial relations with the South, and that we desire the political help of the South, they only give another reason why we should be per-

mitted to avail ourselves of those peculiar advantages to bring back our Union. Is it not monstrous, that the charges are brought in the self-same breath, first that we desire a separation of the Union, and next that all our interests and sympathies are in favor of the restoration of the Union? They, on the other hand, have a political motive against restoring the Union. If this is true, they ought to give up the work to us. They ought to say to us: "You have supported us for four long years; you have given us three millions of men and three thousand millions of treasure; you have burdened your States with taxation, and loaded down your municipalities; your homes have been deprived of many comforts; more than all, you have given up your loved ones to die, and sad vacancies are left by your fireside. We have tried our policy for four years; we have failed to restore peace and to bring back the Union, and now in common fairness you should be allowed to try the effect of your policy." We are not parties to their vindictive legislation. Let me tell you of this confiscation act. Before you can confiscate property you have got to get it. After wasting men and arms, you will find that those who fight for their homes are the men who fight on, and fight ever. And when you have got the property, it will be in a desolated country, and its value will be destroyed. But in attempting to confiscate the property of the Southern people, the Administration have in fact confiscated yours, by the increase of taxation which their policy threw upon you. It is dangerous for a government to have more power than it can exercise wisely and well. Our fathers wished to avoid this danger; they did not fear for the rights of the States, for these cannot be trampled out of existence. The armed heel of military power may tread upon them for a day, but in the end they will rise again in their might and integrity. But our fathers said, If we give the Central Government power which it cannot exercise judiciously, it will become odious to the people. They were called upon to form a Government for a vast extent of country; they said, If we have a king he cannot know the peculiar wants of the people in the middle of Pennsylvania or in the middle of New York; he lacks the intimate knowledge of these localities, necessary to one who is to legislate upon their affairs. With an aristocracy the same difficulty would arise. They hit upon the common-sense idea which you all act upon in your daily life.

There is no man in the community who is efficient at all trades and professions. There are lawyers, doctors, and clergymen. If you desire a lawyer, you go to a person especially learned in that profession. You say he may not be a very honest man, but he understands law thoroughly. Your family is sick; you do not go again to a lawyer but to a doctor; he may know nothing about law, but he is an excellent physician. One man, or one set of men, cannot govern this country. There must be men of skill in all departments, in all localities, to do their separate work. The people of Schuylkill county, in Pennsylvania, or of Onedia county, New York, from which I come, may not be the best people in the world, but they know a good deal better than anybody else what schools they want, and who they prefer for justice of the peace and for constable.

The people of Virginia and Pennsylvania have different interests; the people of Pennsylvania cannot legislate for Virginia, but Virginia

can legislate better for herself than any one can for her. And so our fathers said: "We will only allow the Federal Government to do that which it cannot do amiss; to do that which it can do better than any one else. It shall represent our National power and dignity; it shall maintain our foreign affairs and treaties." That is the principle upon which our Government is founded—that each section shall legislate on those subjects that particularly concerns it. Now, the Administration calls upon you men of Pennsylvania to legislate for the people of Georgia at your own cost in blood and money. We cannot trample upon the rights of the people of another State without trampling on our own as well. The attempt to gain power by a large jurisdiction and centralization will result always in weakness. A year ago a person came to me to ask my opinion about the draft. I said it was contrary to the genius of our institutions; that it was the habit of the people to come together in school districts and make their voluntary contributions, and then in towns, and next in counties, and these little contributions at last swelled up the vast quotas of the States, and made the mightiest army that the world had seen, until the Government itself said, "We can take no more," and rejected these offerings. I told them if they passed the conscription act it would prove to be a confiscation act against the North. The act was passed. It produced resistance, and the country shrunk away from it by coming forward and giving large bounties. It fell heavily upon the homes of the poor. It proved the most expensive and burdensome method that could have been adopted of obtaining troops. And so, my friends of the Loyal League, a hand was laid upon your property in the form of bounties, and while you talked of confiscating the property of the people of the South, and prolonging the war for that purpose, and united the opposition in the South, you crushed out the life of the North. A selfish, narrow, and vindictive legislation reaches your own homes, for you have departed from the wisdom of your fathers and the principles of the Constitution.

We must go back to these. We must teach every man in the land that his person is sacred, and he will love the laws that protect him. We must teach the poorest citizen that his home will be protected against any power of the State, and he will love the Government that throws its shelter around his loved ones. We must teach him that the law and Constitution protect the right of conscience. What has brought here the millions of men who of later years have crossed the ocean? They have come here to enjoy not only the privileges which Almighty God has given to us in our vast, extended, fertile plains, in our wide scope of territory, but they knew our Government gave freedom of conscience, freedom of home, and freedom of manhood. If we speak of dangers in the future, we do not allude to the conflict of party. There is no danger that one party will array itself against another. But when you have destroyed the finances of the country, when you have vitiated its currency, when you have deranged profitable business, so that the merchants dare not go on again, and the manufacturer thinks it unsafe for him to continue his operations because of the uncertainty of the future; when the comforts of life become so costly as to be beyond the reach of men in ordinary circumstances, then you will discover that there is danger—not of a conflict of parties, but that men of all parties, suffering and injured

Republican more than Democrat, because more deceived—will turn upon this Administration and endanger the security and peace of the society in which we live. Is it safe, my Republican friends, for you to go on prolonging this war for the sake of vindictive legislation? The war between France and England, and Russia, was settled when France and England had gained far less advantage than we have gained in this contest. The men who were drafted this year under the five hundred thousand call, have but one year to serve. The three years men who were taken into the army in 1862 will go out of service next year. Their terms begin to expire in the spring. In nine months the army will need the largest additions that have been made to it at any one time. As the Administration shrank from calling for more three years men just before an election, the places to be vacated by the one year men must be filled in nine months, and thus it is reasonable to believe that the largest draft that has yet been made will be ordered at the beginning of the year 1865. I do not speak unadvisedly, for the Administration has intimated to me that they expect another draft. The State of New York has furnished an excess of three year men, and I asked that in making up the quota of New York one three years man should be counted as equal to three one year men. They said they could not do that, as they needed men immediately, but they provided that a three years man should count as one man on this draft, as one man on the next draft, and as one man again on the third draft, and thus the matter would be equalized. So it appears from this that we are to have at least two drafts more. Every man knows that we must have this further draft. After war is ended, under the policy of this Administration, we shall be compelled to maintain large armies to hold the people of the South in subjection, to carry out the emancipation proclamation and the confiscation act.

I appeal to you to investigate these questions and ascertain what policy and what party are the most likely to restore Union and peace. And when you have decided what the right is, let no man deter you from doing it whatever may be the consequence. I am full of hope this night. I believe that we are to triumph, and that once again the flag of our Union shall float over all this broad land. The day will come again when in the councils of our party, as we call the roll of States, the Gulf of Mexico will send up a response to the voice that shall come from the borders of our great lakes. Georgia shall echo back to Maine, the Atlantic to the Pacific, and hereafter we shall go on governing our country by the voice and will of the free people of the States, rendered wiser by the trials and sufferings through which they have passed. May the God of our fathers, He who gave them wisdom to frame our Constitution and establish our Union, grant us the wisdom to retrace the steps which we have trod, to renew that Union, restore the supremacy of that Constitution, and begin once again our career of National greatness and National glory.

Governor Seymour's Action on the Arrest of Col. Samuel North, New York State Agent, at Washington, D. C.

ALBANY, October 30, 1864.

TO AMASA J. PARKER, WILLIAM F. ALLEN, and WILLIAM KELLY,
Greeting :—It being reported that Colonel Samuel North, agent of the State of New York, at Washington, together with certain other citizens of this State, not in the military or naval service of the United States, have been placed in arrest by the military authorities of the United States, and no reason for such arrest having been given to me; and being anxious to learn the fact of such arrest, and the grounds therefor, to the end that no innocent persons may be imprisoned without a fair and speedy trial, and that no obstacle may be put in the way of the soldiers of this State having a fair ballot, according to its laws :

Know you that I, Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby appoint you, Amasa J. Parker, William F. Allen, and William Kelly, commissioners for and in behalf of the State of New York, and do authorize and direct you and each of you forthwith to proceed to the City of Washington as such commissioners, there to inquire into the facts and circumstances relating to such arrest, and alleged causes therefor, and to take such action in the premises as will vindicate the laws of the State and the rights and liberties of its citizens, to the end that justice may be done and that all attempts to prevent soldiers from this State, in the service of the United States, from voting, or to defraud them, or to coerce their action in voting, or detain or alter the votes already cast by them in pursuance of the laws of this State, may be exposed and punished, and that you report your proceedings to me with all convenient speed.

(Signed)

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

D. WILLERS, JR., Private Secretary.

Proclamation Concerning the Election.

Regarding Excitement during Election, and discountenancing interference at the Polls.

IN a few days the citizens of the country are to exercise their constitutional duty of electing a President and Vice-President of the United States, at a time when the condition of our country excites the deepest interest. The questions of the day not only affect the personal welfare of all, and the happiness of their homes, but are also of a character to arouse the passions, and lead to angry controversies between parties. The existence of a terrible civil war, and the assertion of the right of military commanders in some sections of our

country to interfere with elections, have caused painful and exciting doubts in the minds of many with regard to the free and untrammelled exercise of the elective franchise. I therefore appeal to men of all parties to unite with those holding official positions in their efforts to allay undue excitement, soften the hardness of party prejudices and passions, and to avoid all measures and language which tend to strife and disorder. However we may differ in our views of public policy, we are alike interested in the maintenance of order, in the preservation of the rights, and the promotion of the prosperity of our State. While we do not agree as to the method by which these ends are to be gained, they are earnestly sought by all. It is certain they cannot be reached by angry controversies, unreasonable suspicion, or disorderly actions.

There are no well-grounded fears that the rights of the citizens of New York will be trampled upon at the polls. The power of this State is ample to protect all classes in the free exercise of their political duties. In doing this the public authorities will be upheld by good citizens of all parties. There is no reason to doubt that the coming election will be conducted with the usual quiet and order.

Sheriffs of counties, and all other officers whose duty it is to keep the peace and protect our citizens, will take care that every voter shall have a free ballot in the manner secured to him by the Constitution and laws. It will be their duty to see that no military or other organized forces shall be allowed to show themselves in the vicinity of the places where elections are held, with any view of menacing or intimidating citizens in attendance thereon. Against any such interference they must exercise the full force of law, and call forth, if need be, the power of their districts.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and affixed the privy seal of the State, at the City of Albany, this second day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Thanksgiving Proclamation for 1864.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, NOV. 17, 1864. }

By virtue of the laws of this State, I, Horatio Seymour, Governor of New York, do hereby designate Thursday, the 24th instant, as a legal holiday, and a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for public health, abundant harvest, and other blessings during the year. While a desolating civil war fills our land with mourning, throws heavy burdens upon the industry of our country, and carries distress into the homes of our people, we should be thankful that the miseries caused by the weakness and wickedness of men are lightened by the goodness and mercy of God; that the destinies of our nation are in His control, and that we can trust that in due time He will lift his chasten-

ing hand from the people of this country, who have been ungrateful of His favors, and rebellious to His teachings and authority. Gratitude to God is best shown by mercy and charity to our fellow-men. I therefore exhort the citizens of this State to help the poor, to relieve the sick, and to comfort those who are in affliction. Many living in our large towns are threatened with a want of labor and the means to buy food and fuel, while the withdrawal of great numbers of able-bodied men from our State into our armies, leaves thousands of helpless persons without support. I especially invoke the public to make contributions for the comfort and assistance of the families of those who are in the service of the armies and navies of our country.

(Signed)

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

D. WILLERS, JR., Private Secretary.

Governor Seymour and the Enrolment of 1864.

PROCLAMATION URGING CO-OPERATION TO SECURE A CORRECT ENROLMENT.

I HAVE this day received a request from Provost-Marshal-General Fry, dated the 15th instant, "that I will take such steps as will induce State, municipal, and other local authorities, as well as prominent and influential citizens, to co-operate with the officers of his bureau in securing an accurate enumeration of the persons liable to military duty in the several districts of this State."

The object of this request is to get a correct quota for future drafts, to save towns and cities from sending more than their fair share of troops, and see that all are enrolled who are liable under the law for drafting soldiers into the service of the United States.

I therefore urge upon all citizens immediate attention to this subject. When the call is made it will be too late to correct errors.

Heretofore, when I objected to the excessive quotas of the districts, I was told that there was a lack of vigilance on the part of our people in making timely corrections of lists.

If the names of those not liable to duty are enrolled, the quotas which districts will be compelled to furnish, will be unduly increased, although the persons thus improperly put upon the lists may be saved from the draft. On the other hand, if the names of those who are liable to duty are omitted, it will make greater charges against those whose names are put into the lottery of the conscription. If citizens or officials will not attend to their duty in this matter, they must not complain of the injustice of the enrolment. It is the duty of enrolling boards to show their lists to all who may apply, and it is the right of every person to have errors corrected, whether they affect him individually or not. If any hindrances are put in the way of this, complaint should at once be made to me.

I exhort our public journals, by constant notices, to call the attention of our citizens to this subject. It deeply concerns the welfare of all classes. By prompt and vigilant attention, we will be saved from unequal quotas, and from a heavy amount of taxation upon the several towns and cities. A large share of our local indebtedness is due to the want of vigilance in correcting the enrolments.

In other States the town and city authorities have looked closely into the lists.

The indifference of our people upon this subject has been one of the causes which has thrown upon New York an excessive share of the sacrifices and cost of the war.

We cannot expect the authorities at Washington to feel more concern with regard to our quotas, than our people show for themselves. Neither can this department successfully contend against errors affecting the people of the State, while our citizens are careless about their own rights and interests.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and affixed the privy seal of the State, at the City of Albany, this twenty-first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

By the Governor:—D. WILLERS, JR., Private Secretary.

CIRCULAR IN REGARD TO THE ENROLMENT.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, December 23, 1864.

SIR:—The President of the United States having made a call for three hundred thousand men to fill up the armies in the field, I deem it my duty to urge you, at once, to correct the enrolment in your town. No time should be lost; nor should any proper cost be spared to do this. The losses to the different congressional districts of our State from wrong enrolments have been much greater than is generally known. This is shown by the annexed table—setting forth the excess of numbers called from the districts of New York, over the average number required from the New England States, as nearly as can be ascertained. It is based upon the call of July 18, 1864, for five hundred thousand men. I assume that a bounty of seven hundred dollars was paid for each volunteer. This is more than was paid in some counties and less than was given in others. The eight districts in the cities of New York and Brooklyn are left out. In these the loss would be still greater. You will see that the interests of your town demand that active men should at once be set at work to have the enrolments corrected. Large amounts would be saved if these men are liberally paid in every case where a wrong is corrected. The excess of the quota of these districts of this State over those of New England is not due to any difference in the character of population, but mainly to the activity of town officials in the latter States, in

cutting down the enrolments to the number of persons liable to do duty. Attention to the matter now will save trouble and expense hereafter. Heretofore there were difficulties in correcting the enrollments, which have been removed.

Yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Call of July 18, 1864, for 500,000 men—Quota of the State 39,318 Men.

Congressl Districts.	Counties.	Quota.	Aver. q'ta N. Eng'd. States.	Excess of men in this State.	Cash loss to each district \$700 per man.
1st...	Suffolk, Queens, and Richmond	2,653	2,167	486	\$340,200
10th..	Westchester, Rockland, and Putnam	2,362	2,167	195	136,500
12th..	Dutchess and Columbia.....	2,493	2,167	321	227,200
13th..	Ulster and Greene.....	2,641	2,167	474	331,800
14th..	Albany and Schoharie.....	3,157	2,167	990	893,000
15th..	Rensselaer and Washington.[Schenectady	3,019	2,167	352	596,490
18th..	Fulton, Hamilton, Montgomery, Saratoga,	2,912	2,167	745	521,500
19th..	Delaware, Otsego, and Chenango.....	2,797	2,167	630	441,060
20th..	Jefferson, Lewis, and Herkimer.....	2,493	2,167	326	228,200
22d...	Madison and Oswego.....	2,325	2,167	158	110,600
23d...	Onondaga and Cortland.....	2,628	2,167	461	322,700
24th..	Cayuga, Wayne, and Seneca	2,650	2,167	483	328,100
25th..	Ontario, Livingston, and Yates	2,402	2,167	235	164,500
26th..	Tioga, Tompkins, Broome, and Schuyler..	2,460	2,167	294	205,100
27th..	Chemung, Steuben, and Allegany.....	3,107	2,167	940	658,000
28th...	Monroe and Orleans.	2,901	2,167	734	513,800
29th..	Genesee, Niagara, and Wyoming.....	2,636	2,167	469	328,300
30th..	Erie	3,004	2,167	837	585,900
31st..	Chautauqua and Cattaraugus.....	2,181	2,167	14	9,800
		Excess	men...	9,648	\$6,753,600

Average quotas of the districts above named..... 2,674 men
 Average quotas of New England States named 2,167 men

Average excess..... 507
 Average loss per district at \$700 per man..... \$354,900
 Total loss in the districts named on the single call..... \$6,753,700

Governor Seymour at the Inauguration of Governor Fenton, Albany, N. Y., January 2, 1865.

Laborious Duties of the Office of Governor—Commends his Successor to Popular Support—Remarks to Governor Fenton—History and Policy of the State.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The office of Governor of New York has always been one of labor and care. To act upon every law touching the varied interests of four millions of people; to see that those laws are faithfully carried out; to take care that the rights of the people are upheld; to listen each year to a thousand pleas for pardon, which are urged at all times and in all places where a hearing can be gained

—for the sacred rights of misery and of suffering cannot be restrained by rules or methods—has ever made the position one of anxiety and of toil. The present war has added to these duties until the position of Chief Magistrate of this State calls forth every energy of body and mind. Within the past four years, New York has sent nearly four hundred and forty thousand men to the armies and navies of the country. More than thirty thousand military commissions have been given out by the executive department during the same period. I therefore ask for my successor a liberal support in the position which he is to hold for the next two years. This is due as a matter of justice, of wise economy, and of generous patriotism. Whatever may be the course of the war, his labors will grow greater. In their nature they are accumulative. Each year adds to the use and the value of the records of the office, as they prove claims for pensions and bounties, show the quotas due from different town and counties under the call for men, and will in the end be the proofs upon which the General Government must account for vast sums of money. I should be untrue to the position which I have held, and unjust to him who now takes that place, if I did not urge upon our people and our Legislature the duty of strengthening his hand by liberal appropriations, which will not only give to him a sufficient number of assistants, but which will also enable him to call to his support, by liberal compensation, men of ability and experience in public affairs. I know this policy is demanded by enlightened economy and justice.

[Governor Seymour then addressed Governor Fenton]:—

To you, sir, who now enter upon the duties of Chief Magistrate of this great State, I tender my sincere wishes for your successful administration. You and I look upon public affairs from different stand-points, and we have held conflicting views and have reached different conclusions with regard to the methods by which our country can best be saved from the perils which overhang it. But none the less, sir, have you my best wishes for your personal welfare and success in all the affairs of public and private life. In these days, when we are called upon to confront problems so great, so vital, and so far-reaching in their effects, he who does not speak out his earnest convictions lacks manhood; and he who cannot treat with respect and forbearance the convictions of others lacks sense and patriotism. It is a source of pleasure to me that during the sharp political conflicts of the day, and the distinct antagonisms of our positions, our relationships have been those of friendly courtesy. In the performance of your great and varied duties you will encounter much that is painful, and many misapprehensions with regard to your conduct and your motives; but I do not doubt, sir, that at the end of your official term, although (as those who have gone before you have done), you may fall into errors, that you will be animated by the consciousness of having served your State with zeal, fidelity, and integrity. The great duties and questions of the day will lift you above passing passions and prejudices, and you will be governed by the important objects of holding the honor of New York, and saving the union of our States. The spot upon which we stand inspires us with patriotic pride; for in this ancient city was held the first convention of delegates from the several colonies at which, by Franklin and others, was drawn up a plan for colonial union against foreign hostility and savage warfare. Act-

ing upon the motto of the Hollanders who planted the first settlement upon the banks of the Hudson, that "unity makes might," these delegates took here the first step which ended in making these enfeebled and divided settlements a great confederate power.

The capital of New York is the birth-place of our Union, and to-day New York is the chief support of that Union whose vital principles were here first set forth, and beyond all other States upholds by its armies and its treasures the power of its National Government, which was inaugurated in its great emporium. There is no stain upon its history. From the time when, at this point, and at the mouth of the Hudson, colonies were planted by the Netherlanders, who understood better than other people of that day the principles of civil and religious liberty, New York has ever been foremost in giving a generous welcome to all nationalities and creeds, in its bold enterprise, its wise and comprehensive system of public education, its generous charities for the relief of all forms of suffering, and its great works of internal improvements, which have built up, not only its own, but the National prosperity. By virtue of its wise and generous policy, it has outstripped all other States, and now stands first in the Union in wealth, in population, and in power. In your keeping are now placed its honor, its interests, and its rights.

I shall not try to forecast the future. The events of the past four years have rebuked that pride of opinion which attempts to foretell results which rest with the wisdom of a Power higher than that of man. But the duty of striving earnestly and hopefully to serve our country remains with us. In the future, as in the past, we may be led to follow different pathways, but may Almighty God grant that, before the end of your term of office, we may rejoice in common over a Union restored, over a return of peace and fraternal relationship throughout our land, and a renewal of that happiness and prosperity which heretofore marked us among the nations of the earth.

Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting in Buffalo, October 21, 1865.

The Questions of the Day—Has the War been in vain—Indorsement and Advocacy of the President's Plan of Restoration—Republican admissions of the correctness of Democratic Policy—Negro Suffrage—The National Debt—Its Excess of official Statements—An Increase to be avoided only by restoring Southern States to their Rights—Appeal to laboring Men—Reasons why the Democrats nominated certain Republicans for State Officers.

FELLOW CITIZENS :—For four years the people in this country have been called upon to act upon greater questions than any that ever have been presented to any people in the history of the world. We have had to deal with great problems growing out of a war of unexampled magnitude. We have sent to the war more than three millions of men, and more than one-half a million of our fellow-citizens now slumber in the grave. We have had to deal with great financial

questions, with questions of taxation concerning the laborer and affecting the happiness of our people. We have had to cope with questions of constitutional law, with the great problem of the liberty of the people. Never, as I said before, in the history of the world, have a people been called upon to deal with questions of such magnitude as those which have exercised our minds. The war, thank God, has ceased and peace once more prevails in our land. The questions which the war brought up have passed out of view, and necessarily have become a part of the history of the country. They are not lost. They are recorded for the judgment of the future. All its events—its military transactions, its government action, its action touching the right of the citizen, the power of constitutional law—are all to be preserved for the judgment of coming times, when the passions of men are set at rest.

The questions of the past are not the questions of the day ; but they may be the questions of the future, and we leave them for future reference. It cannot be said that violations of the Constitution were suffered to pass by with the unanimous consent of the American people. But it will be said that, at this time, there were men, and that there was a great party, that stood up for the rights of the people and for constitutional law. Though the war has ceased, by the common consent of all parties, the Union is not yet restored—that Union for whose salvation we have suffered so much is not a perfect whole—that Union for which such a vast National debt has been created is not restored in its fullness and completeness. The problem of war has passed away, but the question remains, How can we restore our country to its full and healthy action ? How can we bring back the States that are still members of our confederacy ? All other controversies and discussions must be hushed.

One year ago I had the honor to address an audience in this city, and I ventured to say that "when victory shall have crowned our efforts, then it will be seen that the policy of those who conducted the affairs of the Government was such that they could not restore this Union." We gained the victories which they told us would produce immediate peace and would restore the Union. But months have passed away since then, and the very men who made these promises, who said the restoration of the Union was a military problem alone, to-day meet in council, more particularly in Boston, and say that the Union is not restored ; that the war still exists in fact, though not in form, and they still call in exercise military power. Have we, then, in vain, sacrificed so much ? I ventured, one year ago, to say, that if we had had wise statesmanship to conduct the affairs of the nation—if justice had been done to the gallant men who fought for our standard, we should have peace and permanent peace. I was once censured for saying that the Government had not followed up its successes and advantages, and yet what does Horace Greeley say to-day. I beg you to listen to one paragraph, because it fully justifies the position we hold to-day, when we implore you to follow us in the course marked out by the President of the United States for the purpose of restoring our Union in fact, and to make our land a brotherhood of States, living together in amity, and thus advance the National glory and prosperity. Mr. Greeley says, in speaking of the visit which Alexander H. Stephens attempted to make to Washington in

the summer of 1863, that had this visit been permitted, "I believe it would have saved a quarter of a million of precious lives, and left our National debt a full billion less than it is now."

Here we have the admission of Greeley himself that a quarter of a million of lives have been sacrificed—the fathers and brothers and sons of this land. Here we have the admission that all we said was true, and that two years ago peace might have been brought back to our country, this vast debt prevented, and that to-day we might have been on the road to prosperity and happiness. But men stand up to-day and say that the Union cannot be restored unless the people of the South consent to an invasion of their constitutional rights.

What is this question of negro suffrage which now agitates the public mind? It is not merely a proposition whether we will or will not give to the African freedman the right to vote. It is the attempt on the part of the General Government to assert the power to determine the right of suffrage in the different States. If this Government has the right to say to the people of the Southern States who shall vote, then it has the right to say to the people of the Northern States who shall or who shall not vote. You are called upon, not only to pass upon the question of the elective franchise in the States of the South, but in those of the North. Now, bear this proposition in mind, that the Government is not only to shape the elective franchise of the people of the South, but also to shape our laws on this subject. Bear in mind, too, that this proposition comes from the very same men who said, a little while ago, that the Irishman and the German should not vote.

This is not only a great and overshadowing question that touches the restoration of the Union; it involves consequences reaching further than all this. It touches the vital principles of our institutions. Tell me, when the Government determines for other States the question of the elective franchise, who shall protect our own rights? Tell me how you will secure your own home and fireside rights when you strike down the right of suffrage? Tell me how you will protect your right of conscience? Tell me when the Government can say to you how you shall exercise the franchise of the citizen, how can you protect your own rights? I implore you to consider this question, not only as it affects distant States and the restoration of the Union, but as it affects all the dearest relationships of life. Why did we battle for our country? Is it only for a name? Oh no! The end of our Government is something greater than this. It is to make the homes of the American people happy, to protect them in their fireside rights, to place over them the sacred shield of the Constitution, and to maintain the principles for which our fathers fought and suffered so much.

In eighty years, from a feeble nationality we became a great people; we were prosperous and happy. But we disregarded the lessons of the past, and deviated from the principles of the Constitution. For four years we were not the free people that we were in times past. You could not for four years go to your homes and feel that they were your castles, where your rights were inviolable. Now, once again, as a people, upon this very subject of the suffrage of the South, you find this great far-reaching question of the rights of the people meeting you, and upon this you must act. And let me tell

you this, when you decide that the Government of this country has the power to go into another State and determine what its election laws shall be, you decide that it has the right to determine the laws of franchise in your own State.

But there are other reasons why you should be deeply interested in this matter, and I speak here of our National debt. When I spoke before you, a year ago, I was denounced as one hostile to the Government, because I said the only way to preserve the Constitution was to carry out its spirit and purpose, and thus promote the welfare of the people of our common country. I then said that the debt was far beyond the official statement. They said it was only seventeen hundred millions; but to-day they admit that it is three thousand millions, over and above the monstrous sum taken from the people by taxation. If we are not to allow the Southern States a place in this Union, and to make them co-workers with us in paying this debt and working out the National prosperity, your own judgment will tell you that this debt must continue to increase. If the military power is to be kept up over so vast an extent of country, if the South is to be held in subjection, it must be done at increased cost of men and money.

If, then, you would avoid more debt and heavier taxation, you must restore to the people of the South as rapidly as possible all those privileges which give life, vitality and prosperity to a country. Bring your own experience to your aid and you will see that, whether war is carried on by active exercise in the field, or an army maintained in time of peace in our midst, the result will be the same—the debt must increase. If this policy is to be adopted, can the laboring man maintain himself and family? When we go back to the time when the Government tax was light, we were enabled to reduce the hours of labor and increase the wages of the laborer. But let me ask the laboring man who will increase the wages of labor, if he is to uphold a policy that will wring from him the fruits of his toil by heavy taxation? When you go to your workshop or toil in the field, and work six hours a day, you have earned enough to support yourself and family, and may wish to devote your time to intellectual pursuits by which you may promote the welfare of others. But when you have worked six hours, the Government steps in and says, "I want you to work two hours more to pay the National debt." You know it must be paid; but you know, also, that taxation means toil, and that more debt means more hours of labor. You must work two hours more, and you thank God it is done; but the Government steps in again and says you must work still two hours more to pay the taxes of another class of men who are exempt from the burdens which bear so heavily on you.

Now this is a question which every laboring man can solve for himself. Just find out how many hours you have to toil to buy your clothes and food, and compare the prices you have to pay with those on the other side of the river, and the difference is exactly the burden of taxation. Although you must work additional hours to pay the debt, you will do it cheerfully, for we are not the repudiating party. We must maintain the public faith—we must keep the compact; but, in the name of God, let us not increase the debt and the hours of toil. If we have made a bad bargain, we must abide by it; but we claim

the right to say to the Government that labor and toil shall not alone bear the burden of the debt, while capital pays no tax. We say to the Government, make no more such bargains, and in the future wipe out this injustice of unequal taxation. If you look upon the questions involved in the issue now before you, you will need no urging to maintain the policy of Andrew Johnson. We ask you to adopt the policy which will make others cheerful co-workers with us, and not to sanction a policy which crushes the fruits of labor and retards the restoration of the Union.

This is not merely a question of how we shall treat States that wish to return to the Union. It is a question that concerns the North more than the South—it concerns the laboring interests of the North. The great burden of paying the debt must fall upon the laborer instead of the capitalist. Beware, then, how you sustain a policy which barter away your own rights. Beware, my friends from foreign lands, how you sustain a party that threatens to violate the Constitution against the men of the South. Take care, as you value your own prosperity, that you do not, unwittingly, increase the debt you must pay—a debt already so large that you see officers, for the first time in the history of this country, placed along the whole frontier, at your expense, to prevent your buying the necessaries of life as cheaply as possible. This policy is the result of the debt which you are taxed in this way to pay.

Let us, for the time being, forget these questions, and address ourselves to the one great overwhelming question of the restoration of the Union. It was to aid the President in this great object that the convention in Albany adopted its platform. The policy of that platform was a wise one, and I stand here to indorse it, and give it my hearty approval. We say again to our Republican fellow-citizens, go with us, and save the country from the perils that lie in our pathway. Do not hesitate to adopt the wisest course and help the President save the Union at once. It was with a view to carry out this idea that we not only made the declarations contained in the Albany resolutions, but placed in nomination certain men. Why did we nominate General Slocum? New York had sent five hundred thousand men to the field—more than her just proportion. In the city of New York and in your own city, men were denounced as untrue to the country, because they protested against excessive enrolment, and some people were made to believe that I pursued a factious course because I endeavored to have justice done to the State. We were then told that the population of New York was teeming with thousands of arms-bearing men who had come since the last census. But the recent census discloses the remarkable *fact* [?] that this city of New York has no increase of able-bodied men, but an excess of women. This by way of digression.

When we reflected upon what New York had done in the war, we felt a just pride in the services of our soldiers, and wished to express due regard for their patriotic deeds. We followed the public opinion, not of Democrats alone, and having the first choice, we took the best general, and that was General Slocum. We took him because he had earned and maintained an eminent military position, not by the voice of political influence, not because he had been written into greatness by the press. It was universally conceded that New York had fur-

nished no more meritorious officer. Republican as he had been, and trained to the use of military power, he was Democrat enough to see that the military power should be subordinate to the civil power, and therefore we nominated him, and are proud of his character.

We also placed Lucius Robinson on the ticket for comptroller. We knew him, by common consent, to be an honest man. In the next place, he has been conspicuous for the bold and firm stand he has taken in favor of economy. But there is still another reason why we selected Robinson. The State of New York was paying specie to the foreign creditors of the Government. It was proposed to pay the obligations of the State in depreciated currency, and this was supported by every Republican in the Legislature, and resisted by every Democrat. Mr. Robinson, then, as now, comptroller, insisted on maintaining the honor of the State, and that it should not be disgraced by even partial repudiation. He did not separate himself from the Republican party to take a Democratic nomination. He did so two years ago when he found that his own party was dishonoring the State. He was true to his duty against the demands of those who placed him in power, and proved himself a man to be trusted in the future. We nominated him as an honest man, a capable officer, and a strong opponent of repudiation. We nominated him, not merely to show our Republican friends that all party distinctions had passed away, but to show that we were actuated by a just regard for the honor of our State, the interests of its laborers, and the good faith which should be preserved with public creditors. His defeat will be a declaration in favor of repudiation.

There was one man in the State of New York—when no one knew when arbitrary power might tear him from his home—when a minister of the Gospel, who preached that it was better to be loving and gentle with our fellow-men, was dragged to a prison in your own city—stood up and showed himself an honest judge and a brave man, and that man was Martin Grover. The English historian points with just pride to one judge who could tell a king that there were some things which it was not becoming for a king to demand or a people to grant. So when the rights of the American people were threatened, Judge Grover stood up like a true man for the vindication of law and the preservation of the rights of the people. May God bless him for that, and the American people ever remember him with gratitude. And this is why the Democracy nominated Martin Grover for the office of judge of the Court of Appeals.

There is another man in nomination who represents a great principle. I allude to General Patrick. We took him, not alone out of regard to his military career, but for the further reason that when arbitrary power endeavored to defraud the soldiers of the right of suffrage, there was one general who did his duty in their behalf, and that man was General Patrick.

I have mentioned the names of these men because they have not been particularly known as members of the Democratic party. In their nomination we not only meant to say to the world that we sought to act with our Republican friends in restoring the Union, but to show them that the individual merits of these men were appreciated. No ticket of greater merit than the one you are about to support was ever placed in the field, and the issues are those which

concern you most deeply. I do not deal in denunciation of the Republican party; but as a party they almost always come out wrong in public affairs, because they never start right. They are as intelligent as ourselves in all respects; but they labor under the mistaken idea that the great object of the American Government is to build up a central power that is to deprive the people of their home rights. On the other hand, we take our stand on the hearth-stone, and declare the great object of government to be to make the people happy, and to protect them in their constitutional rights and privileges. We write upon our banner home rights and equal taxation. Go on in God's name, and fight this great battle for the good of your homes, for the honor of your country, and the glory of the American flag.

Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting at Seneca Falls, N. Y., Nov. 1, 1865.

Party Passions and Vindictiveness rebuked—Example of the "Chosen People"—Why is the Union not restored?—Questions of the Canvass—The President's Policy—Perils in the Future—The Public Debt—Inflation of the Currency—How the laboring Man is affected—How it affects Manufacturers—High Duties on Smuggling—General Slocum's Views—Major-Generals under pay in New York—How to get rid of useless Officials—The Constitutional Question—Centralization opposed to the American Theory of Government—The Democratic Convention—General Slocum and his Maligners—Opposition to Repudiation—Free Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The end of the war that lately ravaged our country, scarcely made a greater change in military movements than it made in the civil questions upon which the people are called to act in succeeding elections. We are not, therefore, inconsistent when we stand before you to discuss topics utterly unlike those which have occupied your minds during the last four years, and ask you to place men in office with some of whom we have not heretofore agreed in political action. I shall urge you to vote for some who were led by views of duty to a different line of political action from that which I felt impelled to follow. I do not mean to say that the issues of the past have lost their importance; they were so broad and far-reaching, in their consequences, that the human mind, agitated and tossed by the events of the past four years, could not always rightly understand or fully apprehend them. We must now enter upon a consideration of the duties of to-day. When rolling years have gone by, we may be able to look back upon the problems with which the American people have been dealing, and understand more correctly their significance. We shall find, I fear, that we have been too much animated by party passion and prejudice, and, it may be, that he who speaks to you now, in his anxiety in regard to what he deemed constitutional law, great principles of civil liberty, the rights of the American citizen, the sacredness of the American home, may have gone too far in

his censures upon those who have seen fit to advocate another policy. It may be that our Republican friends who have looked unkindly upon those who held conflicting views with them, will in the lapse of time acknowledge that we advocated principles of value, not only at that time, but of value through the whole future history of the nation. It may be that when the examples of to-day are urged as precedents hereafter, they may point with gratitude to the fact that there were men who deemed it their duty to complain of those things which they believed perilled the rights and liberties of the people. But whatever other conclusions we arrive at, I pray we may find that the mass of the American citizens of every party were animated by one purpose—to advance the interests and honor and glory of our country.

Yesterday I listened to the recital of the views of one who had played a part as glorious as that of any soldier brought out by the events of the late war—a man who had led great armies into the field, a man who had experienced the severities of the war, and had a right to feel against the people of the South a degree of exasperation which those who have stayed at home might not cherish. He spoke calmly, dispassionately, and without irritation, of the condition of the country, and of those whom he had met but a few days since on the battle-field. When I listened to the remarks of General Slocum—a young man, yet in the very prime of life, with his classical face, with his modest and unpretending demeanor—though he had been the commander of thousands of men, and had occupied a position of honor and responsibility accorded to but few, I felt that we, who had not engaged in the war, were rebuked for our vindictiveness and hate, and I resolved that, for myself, in discussing the issues which now concern us, I would take care that my mind was not warped by passion or prejudice. I am afraid it may be said of those who would continue a military government over the South, that nobody wants to fight now but those who did not fight when they had a chance. The men who did go down to the battle-field are an example to us of moderation, temperance, and true patriotism.

We are told in sacred history that a people whose form of government was not unlike our own, made up of tribes, people chosen of the Lord, were plunged into civil war because one of those tribes placed itself in a position of rebellion against the general authority. The war was waged with great ferocity, and more men were destroyed in the battle-field in proportion to the numbers engaged, than in any conflict of which history gives us any account. At the outset those who held the rebellious position were successful; and, at length, the rightful authority asserted its sway—those who had stood in resistance were scattered or crushed, and peace was restored to the land. But when all was done, the tribes of Israel went up into the temple of God and wept till night, and said: "Lord God of Israel, how is it that a tribe is wanting this day in our land?" In the hour of victory, when fierce and bloody passions had been excited, this people met, not alone to rejoice over their triumphs, or to consider what punishment they might bring upon their rebellious brothers, but to weep with heavy hearts because their national unity and completeness had been impaired.

We, to-day, after a war of unparalleled magnitude, waged for four years; after sending three millions of men to the field; after piling up

a debt of three thousand millions of dollars; after the passion, prejudice and vindictiveness stirred up in our midst by a civil conflict, meet here to inquire why our Union is not restored. Why is it that we are told by a great party that the end for which our soldiers died, and for which we poured out our resources, must still be delayed? This is the question that is to be settled in the election in which we are now engaged.

One year ago our Republican friends told us that this was wholly a question of force. I then said—and I feel now that what I then said was true—that if there had been as much wise statesmanship in the cabinet as there had been bravery in the field, the Union would have already been restored. But the war is at an end; signal victories have been won by generals who have made the history of our country glorious, and who have covered themselves with unfading laurels. Our brothers have returned to their homes, save those, alas! who can never return from the field where they have gallantly fought and died. And now how is it? We are now told that it is something more than a problem of arms; that the Union must not be restored until certain conditions are complied with which were not demanded or brought to public consideration at an earlier stage of the contest. In 1864 I ventured a prediction, in speeches that were published at the time, that when victory should crown our arms it would be seen that the policy of those who assumed power in the Administration was such that they could not bring back the Union. The Union is not truly restored until every State is governed by its own population, controlled by its own laws, and until its people, returning to their own proper pursuits, are toiling with us to lift the burden of debt which now oppresses us, and to advance the prosperity of the common country. Our soldiers did not risk their lives on the battle-field to hold a section of the country in military enslavement, but rather to bring back the Union of our fathers, “the union of hearts and the union of hands,” the common love of the flag of our land, and the common pride in the honor of the American name.

A convention which met a short time since in the city of Boston, and which spoke more thoroughly than any recent gathering of the kind the sentiments of one of the great political organizations of our land, went so far as to insist that we should continue to regard the people of the Southern States as still in a condition of rebellion against the Government, although they had ceased to wage war by armed force. I do not go so far as this, but I am compelled to say that the Union is not yet restored. In former years, when we went up to the capitol to hear the roll of the States called, it was one of those events which inspired in our minds the deepest love and admiration of our country; for in no other land could be heard so magnificent a call as that which rang out the names of States from Maine to Georgia, from Maryland to California, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and from ocean to ocean. To-day there is no one there to speak for Virginia—a State once famous for its statesmen, and that had so much to do with forming our institutions, and working out the liberties of the American people. There is no one there to speak from the home of Sumter and Marion, names whose memory is cherished in all our fireside traditions. There is no one there to speak from Tennessee, where the remains of Jackson moulder in the dust.

We have before us this work of restoration. We have great problems of statesmanship, of finance, of labor, of public order to settle, which require our most earnest consideration. We have before us the questions, how we can bring back the States lately in rebellion to their old relations; how we can lift from the people the burthen of maintaining military government over a vast portion of the land; how we can bring back our country to that degree of economy that marked its history until recent events; how we can dispose of the public debt, so that on the one hand we maintain the honor of the State and nation, and on the other take care that labor does not suffer, and the great business interests of the land become imperilled. I propose to call your attention to these questions, and to what I deem to be our rule of duty with regard to them.

The President of the United States, who holds his place not by my will, now declares that upon the great question which overshadows all others, he means to live up to the declarations which were put forth when he stood before the American people as a candidate for the high office of Vice-President of the United States. He says the object of the war was to restore our Union, to bring back the States to the performance of their appropriate duties, and that when that is accomplished, and they submit to the laws, he has no other conditions to impose upon them besides those contemplated in the Constitution of our land. We then say, upon our side of the house: "We will stand by you in carrying out those pledges."

Let us not fall into the great error that this is a question concerning merely the people of the Southern States. It is more far-reaching. It concerns every man and every woman within the sound of my voice; it comes home to our own firesides, and affects our personal prosperity and personal happiness. The issue before us, as I said, is how shall we bring back these States, so that they may become again prosperous communities, adding to the greatness of our common country; so that they shall become self-governing, thus relieving us from the cost of governing them—for it is at our expense we keep them in military subjugation—so that our liberties shall not be endangered by the position of the military toward the civil authority, which all men deem dangerous, though some may consider it necessary. What are the perils that lie in our pathway if we follow the teachings of those who, although they claim to be, *par excellence*, the Union party, say that the Union must not yet be restored?

We believe, in the first place, that the relation which now exists between the Government and the Southern States is full of danger to the working classes, and to the business interests of our nation. The country has heaped up a vast National debt. One year ago I was severely denounced because I expressed the opinion that seventeen hundred millions of dollars did not measure the amount of that debt. It was stated in an official form, for the purpose of the canvass, when the people were called upon to elect a President of the United States, that the debt was a fraction over seventeen hundred millions of dollars. To-day we find it admitted on all hands that the debt is substantially three thousand millions of dollars. The figures from the Treasury Department are somewhat less than this, but do not state the full amount, for the reason that all the obligations of the Government have not yet assumed a form

where they can show themselves upon the books of the department. It appears, then, that since one year ago our debt has increased twelve hundred millions, which, together with the enormous sums drawn from the people by taxation and the other forms of revenue, amounting to four or five hundred millions of dollars, indicates that during the past year we have been spending four or five millions of dollars each day. But three thousand millions of dollars does not measure all our obligations. It is the experience of all wars, that long after their close new claims spring up, which render the expense at least fifty per cent. more than appeared by the figures; and if I say that the debt of this Government will be four thousand millions of dollars, I certainly do not overstate the amount. We are paying a larger amount of interest than is paid by any country in the world; for though the debt of England is four thousand millions, she pays only three per cent., while we pay six per cent. in gold, and in currency are paying from seven to ten per cent.

The inflation of our currency at this time is also dangerous to the business interests of the country. Men say to us, "We are surprised. We supposed that when the war came to an end there would be a great revulsion in our financial affairs. We have been mistaken; those laws of political economy that have been preached to us were not true. The war is at an end, yet money is plenty, labor is remunerative, and prices are as high as ever. We supposed that at the end of the war, there would be a diminution of the currency, and a diminution of the expenses of the Government. This has not been the case." The banks created under the new banking law all over the country, most of which have not been in operation over ten or twelve months, have converted the debt of the country into currency, and so there has been greater inflation of prices than ever before, producing a condition of things hurtful to labor and property, and dangerous to the stability and morality of the community in which we live. Mr. McCullough, the Secretary of the Treasury, a Republican, has written a most sensible letter warning us of the dangers of this condition of affairs. He tells us that this appearance of prosperity is delusive.

We see upon every hand its embarrassing effect upon legitimate business. Go into the store of the merchant, and he will tell you that he does not know when he buys his goods whether he will be a loser or gainer. They may go down to a price that will seriously embarrass his fortunes, or go up by an inflation which will represent a vast nominal profit. The condition of the country compels him to be engaged in what is practically a gambling operation. He who seeks to conduct his affairs prudently, that he may support his family and gain a competence for old age, feels that there are now complications in business that occasion him great anxiety. Inquire of the person engaged in mechanical operations, and he will say that there is the utmost uncertainty in all his transactions, and that labor has lost its former certain reward. Even in the humbler operations of the farm, the farmer in disposing of the fruit of the soil does not know upon what terms to part with it, or whether he shall do better by retaining it or by selling it at present prices. These things make men impatient of ordinary toil. We see men who have been ruined without fault, and men who have made great fortunes without industry. They disturb in the minds of the youth of the country those great

truths that you, their parents, have taught them from childhood, that competence is the result of honest industry, and of that alone.

Go to the Republican banker, and if he is a fair man he will tell you that the currency must be contracted, and that that will cause a diminution of wages and a diminution in the taxation which will weigh upon you. In this land of ours, when we were free from debt, a man could support himself with six hours of daily toil. To-day he could do the same, but when he has worked six hours and laid down the saw and hammer, or puts aside the pick, the Government steps in and says: "You may have earned enough to support yourself and family, but I must have two hours more of toil to pay your share of the National debt," and he must return again to his work. If you increase the debt and taxation, you must increase the hours of labor. This question of debt means more hours of labor; it means less to give to your family of the comforts of life, and of the benefits of education. It is not a mere sordid question of dollars and cents. It reaches every boy and girl, every wife and mother, for it affects the ability of the father or the protector to supply them those refreshments that add so much to the enjoyments of life. To some it is a question of the ability to furnish his family with food and raiment, and in this aspect it becomes more important than any other. It is a great moral question, affecting the character of our people.

We ask, therefore, now, when our debt is already so large, with an inflated currency, and a taxation more onerous than exists in any other country under the sun, whether that is a prudent policy, which proposes that vast and distant regions shall be held in a condition of colonial subjection, at an immense cost to the labor and wealth of the North? When we enter upon this policy we do injustice, not so much to the people of the South, where this money is spent, as to the people of the North where this money is earned. We do injustice to the returned soldier by compelling him, after he has perilled his life in the field, to endure additional toil, now that he is at home, for the reason that we will not consent that the Union for which he fought so bravely shall be restored in complete and harmonious operation.

We owe three thousand millions of dollars. This money is owned by women and children. I am for keeping the public faith to the last dollar; but while I would do that, I would remove inequality of taxation. The man who holds the money of this Government has a right to demand that it shall be economical, for that is the best safeguard against repudiation. The holders of the National bonds are interested with us in this effort to reduce our governmental expenses, to bring back the economy that once prevailed in our Government, to lift the burdens from labor, and to make the debt comparatively light, and thus all the more secure.

Before the war we were becoming a manufacturing country, because untaxed labor could produce cheaper than taxed labor. Now I go to my shoemaker, and he charges me double the price that I used to pay for a pair of boots. He says: "It is partly because of the inflation of the currency, but my material is taxed, my labor is taxed, all that I eat and wear is taxed. I cannot afford you a pair of boots at the old prices." I go to the carriage-maker. I look through his establishment, and finally I say: "I want this carriage, but I am ap-

palled at the price which you ask me for it." He replies, "I have considered all that enters into the manufacture of this wagon, and I find that it has already been taxed four times, besides the indirect taxes which have fallen upon it by the increased expenses of my laborers. I have had, of course, to advance their wages to keep pace with the increased cost of living." The result of this condition of things is that we are unable to produce as cheaply as we can buy in the markets of the world. This result has but lately shown itself, and we do not yet realize it.

Mr. McCullough, in his letter, tells us that to-day we are buyers of all the world—not sellers to all the world. Our manufacturers will tell you the same. To guard against this, the Government says: "We must hedge you in by very high duties." The duty upon alcohol is two dollars per gallon. It is generally made double proof for the market. It only costs about thirty or forty cents per gallon to make it across the line. You have in the United States a coast line of ten thousand miles. The line between ourselves and Canada is four thousand miles, in some places indicated by river or lake, and in some places by an imaginary line. A man, then, who runs a hundred gallons of alcohol across the line free of duty, makes a hundred and sixty dollars by evading our laws. Why, a large cooking-stove now is about as good a distillery as they used to have, and almost any man can distil a gallon a night in his own kitchen. That will bring him more than he can earn by honest labor. For the first time in the history of our country, a man who wishes to buy shoes for his child sees on one side of the line that the price of boots is five dollars, and on his own side ten.

The Government says you must not buy boots for five dollars, you must pay ten. The temptation to disregard the law is great. The honest suffer, and the unscrupulous reap immense profits. All along our border you see a continual evasion of the laws of smuggling, driving out the honest trader from the market, rendering legitimate transactions unprofitable, and resulting in a fearful demoralization of the community, and a contempt for old ideas of business morality. A man comes along with lace. He says, "This is damaged lace; it came from a shipwreck;" or, "I am an unfortunate sailor; I can sell this very cheap." It is as good lace as you can get for twice the money at the stores, and men generally buy of those who sell the cheapest. He makes a great profit on it, for he has brought it across the line free of duty. I met a man in the West, near the northern border, who had some goods to sell. He said: "I bought them at auction of a man who failed. They are a little out of fashion, and I can afford to sell them very cheap." I looked at them, and they were as good as any that could be bought. Why was he decrying his own goods? He was going to sell them at one-half less than a fair trader could do, and yet he was making five times the profit, for he had paid no duty.

You cannot resist these things. The more the duty is increased, the more profit is made by the smuggler. You know how extensively blockade-running was carried on during the late war. The blockade-runner had to run into port, and after putting on his cargo had to run out again, thus taking a double risk. The smuggler loads a schooner at the West Indies which costs him \$5,000, with a thousand barrels of alcohol; if he evades the duty he makes \$160,000; he runs ashore,

unloads and burns his vessel. The cost of his vessel is a trifle compared with his profits. How can you prevent this on ten thousand miles of coast? The blockade-runner was compelled to run in safety, and to enter a port to load his cargo, but the smuggler can run ashore anywhere, and cares nothing for his vessel. How can we prevent American industry from being stricken down? For the first time in the history of our country the laborer can do better by going above the northern border than on this side. While the war lasted it made its own market; but now we are to commence a competition with the labor of the world. We have to cope with this great financial problem, and I appeal to you, if it does not become all classes of American citizens to say how we can put an end to that condition of the country which requires a continuance of the enormous expense of maintaining armies, and of governing the Southern States.

Many years ago we were engaged in an Indian war in Florida, and near its close it was a great matter of complaint that the people of Florida kept that war alive, because while it existed armies were maintained in their territory, and large sums of money expended there by the Government, enriching and benefiting them in a thousand ways at the cost of the country.

The gallant general to whom I listened yesterday, gave us some of the reasons which induced him to take his position upon the Democratic ticket. It was the same sentiment of duty which induced him to leave his home and his young family, to take a comparatively subordinate position in the army, and to shed his blood in the first battle of the war, when courage in our officers was more needed but less common, never dreaming, in his modesty, that he was to become the distinguished man that he is. He was occupying the commanding position of major-general—a position that beyond all others ministers to a man's pride and ambition—the right arm of Sherman; but he found that there was a duty that demanded a sacrifice. The position of major-general is far more lucrative and more distinguished than that of Secretary of State. The salary of a major-general is seven thousand dollars a year, and he has the privilege of surrounding himself by a brilliant staff at an expense of twenty thousand dollars. But he gave up the honors and emoluments of his office, and came back to take a position which he knew would call down upon him the denunciations of those who then praised him. As for one cause he was willing to sacrifice his life, so now, at the call of duty, he stands before the shafts of party passion and prejudice. He saw an abuse at the South which only the Democratic party could remedy. He told us yesterday, what the experience of wars has shown us always to be the case, that there were growing up in the Southern States great and powerful interests in favor of prolonging the war for purposes of profit and political power. If men are sent to the Southern States to govern them, and large numbers of profitable offices are thus established at the disposal of Northern men, there arises, of course, a strong combination in favor of continuing the present condition of affairs, and it is difficult, if not impossible, for men in authority, of the best intentions, to oust them from their places.

General Slocum told what he had seen of this in his experiences. When Grant was at Vicksburg, it was made the base of his operations, and our soldiers will tell you that the base of an army becomes at

once a place of great commercial consequence. When an army of a hundred thousand men are to be supplied with provisions, clothing and transportation, immediately a town of the magnitude of this will spring up in full activity. A large number of men have to be appointed to fulfil various duties in the quartermaster's department, connected with the transportation, and even for burying the dead—for it takes a considerable corps to bury the men who die in a large army in the ordinary course of nature.

The army moved on to Chattanooga, from there to Atlanta, and still on with one glorious career of triumph northward, until it ended the war by the surrender of the Southern armies in Virginia. At each base of supplies it became necessary to appoint men for the various duties required. After Lee's surrender, General Slocum retraced his pathway. What did he find? The armies were gone. There were but a few regiments at Vicksburg; no men, comparatively, at Chattanooga or at Atlanta; but all the employes that had been appointed were there drawing their pay, though there was nothing to be done. He set himself at work to correct this abuse. He said this thing is a scandal. The people of the North have sent their sons and their treasures to the war, and their money must not be squandered. These men were necessary six months ago, but there is no excuse for keeping them under pay, at the expense of the country, now. He sent for a list of the employes, and said: "You don't want all this array of clerks and officials. You don't want twenty men for burying the dead when there are no dead to bury. Your force must be reduced." He went away expecting it would be done, but when he returned there was no change. He sent for the man in command, and said: "How is this? Bring me the list. Here is Mr. John Smith, what does he do?" "Well, John Smith does not have a great deal to do, but he is a brother-in-law of mine—it would be extremely unpleasant to dismiss him." "Well, here is Mr. Brown doing nothing; I must strike him off." "Oh, he was sent on here and appointed at the request of a member of Congress. He is a man of strong influence, and has a great many friends; it wouldn't do to turn him out; we should have trouble at Washington about it." And so through the whole list—each one, though the occasion for his services had passed, was placed there by some strong living interest which remained in full force.

I do not complain of the Republicans as a party for this; doubtless if we had been in power we should have done the same thing. All over the South this mechanism of the war, called into existence very properly by the necessities of the occasion, still remains, though the occasion has passed, rolling up still higher this mountainous debt, and adding another hour each day to the toil of the laboring man. I do not blame the Republicans. If we had been in power, and had appointed these men, we should find it difficult to dismiss them. The disinclination to remove our own friends from office pertains to human nature without distinction of party. My Republican friend agrees with me that these officials who have nothing to do should be turned out. "But," he says, "out of the many thousands you are going to turn out, there is one, only one, that I wish you would keep; he's a particular friend of mine; keep him, and then go on with this glorious work of reform." But the difficulty is that every man is somebody's particular friend, and so nothing is done.

A little while since General Grant complained of this, and attempted reform. But forthwith there is a rush of members of Congress to Washington, and every one has his favorite officer—this major-general, that brigadier-general—who must not be mustered out. We have five major-generals to-day in the State of New York, whose pay amounts to one hundred thousand dollars. Can you tell me what we want of major-generals in the State of New York? New York sent five hundred thousand soldiers to the war, and these are mostly mustered out of the service. Why cannot the major-generals go as well as the private soldiers? When General Slocum came back and offered himself for your suffrages, he said, as an honest man, "I must resign my office. I won't be guilty of the great outrage of compelling the Republican party to pay my expenses while I am running against them." As an honorable man he laid down his office. How is it on the other side? I do complain that there are two men on the Republican ticket—one a major-general and one a brigadier-general—who are receiving their full pay of Government—one of \$7,000 and one of \$8,500. It is hard enough to fight against official patronage, but it is very hard to support men while they are running on the other ticket. It is so all over the North; it is so all over the South. Well, I can stand it with a general who has fought bravely, though I wish more of the money were given to the private soldiers—it would go a great deal further and do a great deal more good. An officer of the navy, seeing a sailor praying before an engagement, reproached him with cowardice. "There is no cowardice in it," said he; "I was only praying that shots might be distributed among the officers in the same proportion as prize money is." So I wish the money might be distributed in our army in proportion to the dangers that men have passed through.

I call your attention to this merely to illustrate the idea that the war has called into existence, all over the North and South, officials who cannot be turned out by the Republican party. Our own party, if it were in power, and had appointed these men, could not do it. The only way, said General Slocum, that I could remove these men who were left in sinecure positions after the army had moved, was to place a new man in command who was nobody's brother-in-law, and knew nothing of the influences that had appointed these men. He cleaned them all out in twenty-four hours, and the whole expense stopped.

The South is a field for enormous speculation. We know how some men have suddenly become rich—in some cases fairly enough, in others not so fairly. We know how strong is the temptation with men who are placed in military positions, under circumstances where they can control whole communities, to give way to the lust of gain and power, and to desire to prolong the condition which is essential to their continuance in office. We know how hard it is to turn out men whom we have ourselves appointed; to lay a hand on the hopes and interests of those bound to us by the ties of interest or personal friendship. For this reason, there should be a change of political power. For this reason President Johnson should be sustained in his policy to bring back the South as soon as may be, and to place each State under the government of its own people.

Until these States are brought back to their original condition, we

stand before the world as a divided people, inviting foreign aggression. With the Union restored, we become again a great nation, worthy of respect and—with proud recollection of the times when our fathers, from the length and breadth of the land, as a band of brothers, fought the battle of the nation's liberty—able to defy the world in arms.

When you decide that this Government has the right to say who shall and who shall not vote in the Southern States, you also decide that it has power to say who shall and who shall not vote in the Northern States. You will notice that the very class of men who are demanding that the General Government should establish universal suffrage in the South, demanded not long ago that a man of foreign birth should not have the privilege of voting in a Northern State. We cannot lay our hands upon the rights of our neighbors without at the same time perilling our own. It is a question that concerns not alone the South. It is for the highest interests of every citizen to see that no precedent is established to justify the violation of any provision of the Constitution, or the disregard of any of the guaranteed rights of States or of individuals. What is this Constitution which we are asked to disregard in our treatment of the South? In many parts of the world Government claims despotic powers. It says: "We will take your person, we will seize your property, we will enter your home at our pleasure; we will dictate in what manner you shall worship your God." Our fathers formed a Government in this fair and beautiful land, in which every citizen who had obeyed the laws was safe in his own home, no matter how humble it might be, as though he were guarded by moated walls, in which no man, however high in power, could lay unhallowed hands upon his person, or place any restriction upon his worship of his God. If one provision of the Constitution containing these guarantees is stricken down, all fall with it.

Why was it that this country, comparatively so young, sprang up into such gigantic greatness, and became more prosperous and powerful than any nation on the globe? Why did the people of the Old World leave all the associations of home and flock to our shores? They saw here a land blessed by Providence with fertile plains and great rivers, and kindly influences of nature, with a government so simple and economical that the liberty of the citizen is inviolate; that no man is hindered from any good thing by old institutions and prejudices; that the tax-gatherer's visits are rare, and that labor is abundantly blest. It was because it was a diffused and not a centralized Government; a Government of the people and not of a man or set of men. It provided that every man and every section should attend to their own affairs, and pay the expense; therefore it was beneficent and economical. It is this idea of centralization, so repugnant to the genius of our institutions, that is to-day hindering the policy which would bring back the Southern States under the Government of their own people. Why was it that the volunteers rushed to the defence of the Union at the beginning of the war, until the War Department was embarrassed by their numbers? It was because they desired to save a Government which they felt to be their own. But when the attempt was made to force men forth by a draft, when the Administration attempted to assume the powers of a despotism, they found that all their machinery produced no men. Everybody found

he had an ailment that precluded the idea of his serving in the army. We became a nation of sick men and orphans, and everybody found some means of evading the draft. I told them if they wanted men they must go to the localities, to the supervisors, and not to the provost-marshals; and after an utter failure of the machinery of conscription they were compelled in the end to get men from the supervisors, but at largely increased cost. The draft failed because it was contrary to the theory of our Government. They said we will centralize the Government and make it strong; but they only weakened it, and stripped it of its power.

When our fathers formed this Government the nations of the Old World scouted the experiment, saying that our territory was so large that it could not be held together. But George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, and their colleagues, formed a Government founded on a common sense plan, drawn from the experience of every day affairs. I may show this by an illustration that I have used before. There is not a man here who is not compelled, in the course of a year, to call for almost an infinite variety of skill to supply his daily wants. If he wants a house built, he calls for a carpenter. The carpenter may know nothing of law, or medicine, but he can build a house better than any other man. If he is sick, he calls for a doctor. If he becomes engaged in legal transactions, he calls for the lawyer. The lawyer may not be the most honest man in the world (for you know that lawyers are not always honest), but he is the best man for this particular business that can be found. So no man undertakes to do everything, but leaves every man to that for which he is best qualified.

So the framers of the Government knew that, though they might be very wise men upon some things, they could not understand and attend to all the wants of the people in all the localities of this great land. The people of this town might not at that time have been very learned, they might not understand foreign affairs, but they knew a great deal better than any one could tell them what roads they wanted, and what school-houses they wanted. And the people of the county knew better than anybody could tell them what court-houses and jails they wanted. But there were affairs to be settled between counties; there were larger interests to be considered, and these were left to the States; and those things that pertained to the whole country, and that were above the jurisdiction of towns, or counties, or States, were left to the General Government. If all these various minute details of local affairs had been left to one central Government, do you suppose you should have had all of these schools, churches, and public buildings, this wonderful system of roads, these railroads and canals, all this minute and harmonious machinery of civilized life? These things were done well, because all these special intelligences of the country were set to work, and every man was permitted to do that which he knew better than anybody else how to do.

This is the Democratic theory of Government. It is assailed to-day by those who insist that we shall maintain a military Government over subjugated States. This idea is contrary to the genius of our institutions; it has imperilled our finances, our labor, our rights of conscience and of liberty. This came not because of slavery or of abolition, but because we forgot the teaching of our fathers. When

we would restore our country in truth, when we would make it what it was, it will be when, taught by suffering and experience, and purified by the terrible war we have passed through, we shall become a people living in peace, laying aside hatred and passion, and as one band of brothers striving to rebuild the glorious Government that drew to our shores those that sought an asylum from other lands, and that made our country so beautiful in its prosperity, and so happy in its homes.

The Democratic party went into this canvass with an earnest desire to remedy the evils of which I have spoken, which still exist in our country. We went into this canvass to sustain with our best efforts President Johnson in his efforts to bring back the South to the government of her own people, and thus truly restore the Union. We placed in nomination some men that had been opposed to us. We closed our lips upon the questions of the past. We deemed it our duty to show to the world that we sought at this time the good of our country, and were ready to meet the issues of the day, and to advance the interest of the people of the land. We remembered that New York had sent five hundred thousand men to the field. We remembered that we had sent more than our proportion, comparing them with other States. We remembered that in the distribution of honors, New York, as I believe, did not have her full share. During two years I gave sixteen thousand commissions in this State alone. I believe my most bitter enemy could not imagine that, after I had met, day after day, the young men of our land, who came into my office in all the pride of early manhood, animated by a patriotic desire to serve their country, not unfrequently accompanied by mother or sister or father, and gave them their commissions, and then a few days after received the record of death among them, and put others in their places—I do not think my bitterest enemy would do me the wrong to think that I could spend two years in that duty and not have the deepest concern for the destinies of the soldiers whom New-York had sent forth. We remembered what New York had done, and we determined to show our respect for the army, our reverence for the memory of the dead, and our gratitude for those who have returned, by placing at the head of our ticket one who had won honor in the country's cause. We had the whole field before us; we had the opinions of the journals, both Democratic and Republican; and having the first choice, of course we took the best general. We knew that he was so, and our Republican friends admitted it, for it was one of their complaints that General Slocum had taken our nomination when they meant to nominate him themselves.

When this man who was, by common consent, one of our most noble and gallant generals, was placed in nomination for an office so much humbler than the one he held, I felt indignant when I found the men who opposed him uttering, from mere partisan malice, and without ground of truth, the most cruel and shameful aspersions against his character. I saw some generals going to the war poor and coming back rich, who never won a battle, who are yet heroes in the estimation of some. I saw this man coming back as poor as he went, who never lost a battle, with a person maimed by wounds, and yet partisan hate would attempt to stain that reputation which concerns not only the Democratic party but the honor of the great State

of New York and of the nation. I think some one said that he was a "cotton thief." That was either a very gross charge, or it was one that fell far short of the mark. I could hardly believe that there was malice enough in the bitterest partisan so to attempt to stain the character of an honest man, a brave soldier, and a true patriot. Perhaps he who invented it only meant it in the sense that General Slocum not only took all the cotton in a State, but he took the State and all the armies of the enemy in it also.

Two years ago our Republican friends said: "We want an honest man for Comptroller. We will take Lucius Robinson." We opposed him, although we said nothing—and we could not have done so if we had desired to do so—against his integrity and ability. A question came up while he was in office which involved the honor of the State. It was proposed to pay the interest on the State bonds in currency. I sent a message to the Legislature, and implored them to pay in specie. The credit of the State was in issue. The bonds were held in foreign lands. They paid us the full value of the bonds, and we had pledged them their full amount of interest. To pay them in paper, which was worth to them only forty cents on the dollar, would be an act of repudiation. Then it was that Lucius Robinson separated himself on this question from the party that elected him, and said, "I will not consent that the honor of New York shall be tarnished by this act." It was an act that would hurt the credit not only of this great State but of the nation, because it would be said abroad: "If the State of New York will not keep faith, is there certainty that the nation will keep faith?" On that point he separated himself from the Republicans in the Legislature; they have no word to say against him, and therefore we nominated him. His name is an argument against repudiation. If you strike down the man who stood up against repudiation in the State of New York, never say another word against repudiation in the nation. If you strike down this man, you do an act in favor of repudiation. We meant by this nomination to test your honesty and sincerity. I am supporting a man who opposed me a year ago, because I think it is right. I support him because he stood by the honor of the State of New York.

There was a time in this State when the judiciary shrank from their duty; when a man was in danger of being mobbed for saying he believed it would take a hundred thousand men to put down the rebellion; that he did not believe stopping up the Mississippi river would starve the people of the South; that they had great resources, and were able to maintain great armies; that they were Americans, and were not a race of cowards. They were not starved out, and it took three millions of men to assert the authority of the Government over that section. Our gallant soldiers will tell you that they had to fight brave and desperate men. It is the glory of our armies that they gained their victories not over cowards but desperate men. I never heard a soldier who perilled his life for his country, who ever decried those against whom he battled. It did very well for us to say it was an easy contest. Mr. Seward said it was a sixty days' war; others, that we would send our women down there to whip them; others, we will take one company of men and go and put down the rebellion. I am sure that the men who said that did not go at all.

At this time, when we should have been thoughtful and earnest, and should have told the truth ; when there should have been free expression of opinion, a minister of the Gospel, for words spoken in a sermon, was dragged to prison. It was then that Martin Grover, against his colleagues, against his party, against the men in power, threw the protection of the judiciary around the rights of that individual, and vindicated the liberties of the people. May God bless him for that, and the American people ever remember him with gratitude. This is why the Democracy nominated Martin Grover.

We nominated General Patrick because he has always stood by the rights of the soldiers.

Your duties in this election are as important as those of any through which we have passed. The dangers that overhang us in the future are as great as those that overhung us in the past. Within three years the virtue and intelligence of the American people are to be more severely tried than they have been even in the past four years. We go into this contest for home rights. The mistake of our Republican friend is that he begins wrong. He looks upon government as something splendid, remote, and grand, holding in its grasp the destinies of the people, while the truth is that the only strength of government is in the people, and that National honor and National dignity spring from the fireside happiness of the citizens. We are animated with confidence, because we can point to a long list of men whom our State has honored, who have come out and said to us: "We are with you now because you are right." And may God give the victory to the right.

Governor Seymour at the Democratic National Union Meeting, Cooper Institute, New York, October 30, 1866.

Prolongation of Strife and Bitterness—Contrast of American and Prussian Statesmanship—Failure of the Republican Party—Partisanship, not Patriotism controlling Public Affairs—Impolicy of Military Governments in the South—The Constitutional Amendment—Its Logical effect on the New England States—Approval of the President's Policy—Disapproval of the Congressional Policy—The National Debt—Congressional Action tends to the Depreciation of the National Securities—Extremists preferred to Moderate Men—Efforts to change the Constitution and depose the President—The Wastefulness of Government the chief Peril to the Public Faith—Cost of keeping the South in Subjection—Taxation—Labor pays the Taxes—Evils to the North of the Congressional Policy in the South—The Currency of the Country Sectionalized—Radicalism overriding Conservatism in the Party in Power—Moderate Leaders run Over—Dangers to the Country—A Plea for the Blacks—The Interests of the Republican Party demand Discord and Disorder.

In the election of 1864 we were told that the war which then raged in our land must be settled by force of arms ; that when armed rebel-

lion was put down our Union would be restored ; that fraternal relationship between the North and South would be firmly based on mutual respect, wrought out on the battle-field, where both parties had shown courage worthy of the American name.

We urged that our soldiers had won victories that enabled statesmanship to put an end to the contest that was filling our land with mourning, and loading down our industry with debt and taxation ; that prolonged war made new questions, and that it was unsafe to leave the fruit of triumph ungathered.

In answer, it was said that the sword would soonest hew out the road to peace, to union, to concord ; that Grant and Sherman were the only negotiators they would trust. When they had done their work there would be no questions left to perplex the public mind. We then warned the people that when every Southern army was driven from the field, and resistance was given up, it would be found that obstacles would be put in the way of the return of the Southern States to their duties. But the people trusted those who said force alone should be used.

It is nearly two years since the surrender of the Southern armies. Within that time a European statesman has waged a victorious war against greater numbers, has built up a nation from scattered and jarring principalities, and has settled perplexing problems which disturbed the peace of Europe. And this was done by vigor and use of statesmanship within a period of six months. Nearly six years have rolled away since this Government began the work of putting down resistance to its authority on the part of a minority of the American people, and yet we are vexed to-day with more doubts and difficulties than at any other period since the war broke out.

During the four years of active warfare, it was the policy of those who wished to throw off from themselves the disgrace of unfitness and imbecility, to say that it was simply a military problem, and thus to cast upon our armies the discredit of a lingering, indecisive struggle between forces so unequal. This was unjust and untrue. The historian will tell of victories won by heroic valor which would have ended the contest, if there had been an honest purpose on the part of those who controlled the administrative and legislative departments of Government. But the Southern armies were crushed out two years ago. No longer can those who wield power shield themselves by throwing upon the soldiers the discredit of our disorganized condition.

What has been done since our final victory to unite our people, to bind the States together by bonds of common interest, of fraternal regard, and by measures of wise statesmanship ? Nothing ; worse than nothing. We have drifted further than ever from a restored Union. Two years ago we were battling to bring back seceded States to their duties ; to-day we are haggling over terms of reunion ; and the interests of party, and not the safety of the Republic, directs the political action. At the end of the battle the people of the North were in favor of a generous use of their victories, and the South were ready to accept results and return to their duties. But now all is changed. Men in power find their advantage in discord ; hatred of the South is taught by the press, by a class of men in the pulpit whose vindictive piety was never drawn from our Saviour's

teachings; by public speakers and by pictorial papers, they strive to stir up malignant passions. The questions growing out of this state of affairs have been discussed mainly with regard to their effects upon the rights, duties, and conditions of the South.

I ask you now to look at the perils they cause to the rights, the interests, and well-being of the North. The people of the South were divided during the war. Some opposed the rebellion; some were hurried into it without thought, and were glad when it was over; all yielded to the result. They are now settling down into the belief that we are their unrelenting foes; that there can be no hearty Union. Unless there is a change of policy, in a little while they will accept the theory that they are a conquered people, with the rights as well as the liabilities of that condition. A military government will be forced upon us by making a military government necessary for their subjection. They will have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by revolutions. We have more to fear from the South if it accepts the doctrine of subjugation than we ever had to fear from its armed rebellion; we cannot enslave them without enslaving ourselves. We cannot have a government whose Northern face shall smile devotion to the popular will, and whose Southern aspect shall frown contempt, defiance, and hate to the people of eleven States.

The South has comparatively little to fear from misgovernment; its lands already have been laid waste; its system of labor broken up; its homes impoverished; and its families thinned by the sword. It has seen and felt the worst. To-day the power of Great Britain is paralyzed by its harsh, unjust, and contemptuous treatment of Ireland. We are taught that if a people are to be treated as outlaws, they can bide their time; they can wait for domestic strife or foreign invasion. It is not wise or safe to trample upon those who for years with desperate courage held their ground against the millions we sent to the field, and the thousands of millions of treasure we spent in the contest—a contest which filled our homes with mourning, loaded us down with debt and taxation, and wrought great and lasting changes in the policy, the maxims, and structure of our Government. A wise settlement of pending questions will do much to build up the prosperity of the South; an unwise policy will do more to break down the wealth and prosperity of the North.

Suppose the constitutional amendment is forced through, what will be the end of the measure? It is held by some of the New England conventions and speakers that the right of voting belongs to every man and some say to every woman, too. If this is true, it follows that the vote of each man shall have equal value; and it will not do to suffer the vote of a man in Rhode Island to weigh down the votes of twenty men in New York. The moment we open the question of representative power, the agitation must go on until we reach the logical end. Are the New England States ready to accept the result of their own teachings? At this time they enjoy a disproportionate power in the Senate. If this question is opened, they will be stripped of this. This strength is now used against the Democratic party; but I do not wish old States, with honorable histories, put down upon lower levels. If the people of the small States do not check their blind leaders, and do not use their senatorial power with more justice and moderation, and cease from pushing amendments to the Constitu-

tion, the doctrine that all men have a natural right to equal political power will be carried home to them. They leave themselves no ground upon which to stand, in opposition to a constitutional amendment which shall carry out their own theories. When the revolutionary work of taking away the rights of States by constitutional changes for partisan purposes once begins, it will be carried on by each party in turn until there will be no stability, no safety. Will not the people of New England see that they must suffer first and most? Will not all men see that constitutional amendments are dangerous things; and that it is not safe to play at the game of disfranchising some and giving power to others, so that a minority of the people shall govern through this kind of legerdemain?

The wisdom of Solomon has admonished the world that "a wise man seeks peace, but a fool will be meddling." I approve the purposes of President Johnson, because he seeks peace and concord. I oppose the policy of Congress, because it is one that is meddling and dangerous?

I shall show why the policy of meddling and strife is hurtful to the capital, the labor, and the home rights of the people of the North. The debt of our Government is about \$3,000,000,000. Some of it has been paid off, about which you have been told; more has been added to it, about which you have not been told. This debt is mostly held by the people of the North; large amounts are held by savings banks in trust for laborers, women, and children. If this stock could be made worth par in specie, it would add to the wealth of great numbers of our citizens, without harming any one; it would call for no more taxation than it now demands; it would make our paper money safe; it would give greater security to savings banks, and to the property of widows and orphans; it would add to our National strength and honor. Now our National credit stands low in the markets of the world; it is sold at a great discount. If we borrow paper money of our own creation, we have to pay about ten per cent. interest, counting the value of the gold in use for that purpose. If we sell our bonds for gold, we get about seventy-five cents on the dollar, and the lender gets about eight per cent. interest on that sum in coin. Every respectable citizen gets money for seven per cent.; your merchants pay less. For some reason the credit of our Government is not as strong as that of a good merchant or of a respectable citizen. Some of our bonds were sold abroad as low as forty cents on the dollar. They are worth more now, but worth less than British bonds bearing smaller interest. If you go to a banker in any part of the United States with a British bond which bears only three per cent. interest, he will pay more for it than for a bond of our Government; yet our bonds, in the course of twenty years, will repay about twice as much money as the holder of the British bonds will get.

Why is this? Our debt is less than that of Great Britain; our population is larger; our resources are greater. Why do we suffer this loss and dishonor? Because the world sees we have not restored our Union; that our house is divided against itself; that the controlling party is pushing a violent policy. The buyers and lenders see we have ample wealth, and pay heavy interest. They want to lend to us and to buy our bonds; but they look to the action of Congress, and

then hold that our bonds are worth less than half the value of a British bond for investment. There is but one reason for this, and that is the unsettled condition of our country.

Can our citizens who hold our public securities put the unchecked control of public affairs into the hands of reckless men? The Congressional party grows vindictive, not generous, when it gains victories. The demands made by them now were repelled as unreasonable one year ago. During this canvass, with every advantage gained, they put forth more violent schemes; the deposition of the President is now pressed, because they carried Pennsylvania; give them New York, and, maddened by triumph and drunk with success, they will shake the nation's credit to its base. Not those who tread most carefully, but those who venture farthest, are made their leaders. Hence every general who came out of the war with damaged character regains party favor by violent speeches, while those who headed victorious marches urge moderation. It is a strange spectacle when brave and victorious generals urge reconciliation, and by so doing sink in favor with a party which owes its strength to their victories. Yet a little time since, this party held that Grant and Sherman alone could reconstruct this Government; after their victories the Republicans held that they had reconstructed it; but to-day they denounce those heroes because they wish to follow up reconstruction by harmony and concord. If the vote of New York is given in favor of violent measures, not only will the National credit suffer, but with it our banking system will be thrown into disorder.

For the first time in our history it is proposed to alter our Constitution, and depose a President, in order to keep a party in power, and by those acts lead the world to think our Government is upturned, and that we are treading in the footsteps of our Mexican neighbors. A people who will break the National compact for party purposes, will break financial compacts.

The violence of party has ever been the bane of our country. Hereafter this evil will be made worse by the growth of patronage. In the better days of the Republic, men lived and died who never saw a Government officer, except the postmaster. To-day tax-gatherers swarm in every house, field, and workshop. With this new source of danger, can we afford to make this precedent when party spirit is to be inflamed by increasing patronage?

The chief peril to the public faith is the wastefulness of Government, growing out of the violence of factions. Until the Union is saved, the cost of armies and of hordes of officers must be kept up. Beyond the direct cost of an honest and careful use of public money for these purposes, there is the danger from the growing corruption which always festers when far-off States are put under the control of agents with unusual and undefined powers, meddling not only with public concerns, but private business and family affairs. These agents, mostly adventurers, and men unknown to the people and beyond the reach of the eye of those who pay the cost of keeping them, are tempted by love of power, lust for money, to act corruptly. This form of government for the South, at once base and debasing, lives only by keeping up the passions and hates of the people of this country. It is an ingenious and costly plan to keep the country in disorder, to unsettle all ideas of law, justice, and rights of persons and property.

It is teaching the people of the North that power may rightfully do its will, trampling upon all the written laws and unwritten maxims which have heretofore governed our country and guarded the public faith, the personal safety, and the home rights of our people.

The meddling and disorganizing policy of Congress, if carried out, will be hurtful to the working men of the North. It calls for large armies. If the South is to be held in subjection until, in the language of Mr. Phillips, it gravitates toward the ideas of Massachusetts, at least one hundred thousand men must be kept in arms, at a cost of more than one hundred millions each year. The South will have the benefit of the money thus spent, and in time may look with as much satisfaction upon the arrival of troops as is shown by our Canadian friends when regiments are quartered in their towns. Great armies are to be kept up by congressional legislation—the usual evils will follow.

Our General and State Governments are fast getting to be corrupt and wasteful. The cost of them must be borne by labor. Government bonds pay no taxes; and the disorganized South, instead of helping to bear these burdens, will add to their weight.

Meetings are now held in all parts of our country to shorten the hours of toil. Men claim they should have more time for rest and mental culture. All agree that this is right; all promise to support them in their movement, Republicans and Democrats alike. But promises are cheap, and sympathy is of little value if it stops with the mere sentiment. I ask the workingmen to think of this. You must pay your taxes, and you must work to do so. It matters not if these taxes are paid into the hands of the tax-gatherers or to the merchant, who puts them into the price you pay for his goods, of course. If you could buy your food, fuel, clothes, and other necessities and comforts of life at the cost of production, adding a reasonable profit, free from the taxation which enters into prices at this time, you could live with your present wages by laboring four hours each day.

Taxation, in its varied forms, more than doubles the cost of life in this country. Each man in the shop and field works a part of the day for himself and family, and a part of the day to meet the cost of Government.

Taxation means toil. And more taxation means more hours of toil.

The congressional policy of hate, of discord, of meddling, of large armies, and of corrupt patronage, will lengthen out your hours of labor, for you must pay for these things.

But you have not yet felt the full pressure of these burdens. Just now they are cushioned over with an inflated currency. All agree we must come to specie payments; that we ought to do so as soon as we can. The time will be when all prices for labor must come down to the specie standard; but taxes will not come down. The cost of the necessities of life, so far as taxation enters into them, will be kept up; and the tax which you now pay with one hour of toil will then call for two. Not only will the pay of labor be cut down, but the call for labor. Until matters are adjusted upon a new basis there will be great suffering in our country. It is the part of wisdom to lessen these evils by timely care; to see that the cost of Government is cut down to the lowest possible point.

In a little time you will feel that the questions of the day do not

merely concern the South. They are agitated at your cost, and you will find them all in the tax-gatherer's bill. You will then learn that the number of hours you are to work is not a question between you and your employers, but between you and the tax-gatherer.

Another evil to the North, growing out of the system of firing the minds of our people with hatred of the South, is that public attention is turned away from the great questions of our financial policy which concern every class of our citizens. All admit that our inflated currency and its shifting value is a cause of business confusion, of wild speculation, and of demoralizing waste and extravagance. We have reason to fear these evils will grow until they bring us to financial ruin.

Not only is the public debt, which pays nothing to support Government, held mainly in one corner of our country, but the banks, which have a right to make the currency for all the States, are placed and owned in a large degree by the Eastern and Middle States. Not only our debt, but our currency, is sectionalized. In the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on this subject, made last session in Congress, it was shown that of the National bank-notes then issued, Massachusetts had \$52 for every person within her borders; Connecticut, \$42; and Rhode Island, \$77; while in the great commercial States of the West—Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan—the proportion is in Ohio only \$8 per head; in Illinois, \$6; in Michigan, \$3; and in Wisconsin \$3 per head of the population. So that whatever profits are made out of bank circulation, by far the largest proportion thereof goes to these three New England States. The number and wealth of the people of the great States thus left with little or no means of getting currency, except as borrowed from more favored sections, makes this a glaring evil. As they grow in commerce, wealth, and power, they will demand, with a strong show of reason, that they shall be put upon an equal footing with the Northern section of the Union. And this will be done by an increase of paper money, for the debtor and speculative interests will always control congressional action. While there is danger that the paper bubble is to be blown up until it bursts, and throw our whole system of debt, banking, and currency into ruin, the public thought is turned away from this peril and from guarding against it, and is taken up with schemes to fasten a despotic and military government upon the people of the South. If the day comes that this Government fails to keep its faith with the holders of National bonds and National currency, this Union will be in extreme peril, and we shall pay the penalty of neglecting our own affairs to meddle with the home concerns of distant States.

At the last session of Congress a new bill for taxation upon foreign and home products was passed by the House of Representatives, and now lies in the Senate, to be acted upon after the pending elections. It is a bill which will fall heavily upon the commercial and farming interests of our country. It will harm this great city. It will lengthen the hours of labor, and will scant the food and clothing of the poor; but who hears of this amidst the howling of sectional rage? Leading Republican journals have denounced the measure as one which would bring disaster upon us; but who heeds their warnings? Nay, they do not heed their own warnings, but are foremost in up-

holding those whom they charge with the guilt of selfish, dangerous legislation.

This question of tariffs and taxation, and not the negro question, keeps our country divided. The last has been used to lead the people of this State by their prejudices. Made bold by success, the mask is thrown off, and Butler, Banks, Boutwell, Phillips, and other New England orators, aver the Southern States shall not be admitted to the Union even if they give the negro the right to vote. In this hall Mr. Phillips asserted they should not be known as States until their ideas of business, industry, money-making, spindles, and looms, were in accord with those of Massachusetts. The men of New York were called upon to keep out the Southern members, because if they were admitted they would vote to uphold your commercial greatness and the interests of Western agricultural States.

Let us look at the moral evils which this gospel of hate has brought upon all forms of public action in party, church, or literature. I do not speak now of the abuse and untruth uttered against us. We have learned to bear those unmoved, and to go on unswerved in those pathways which, we think, lead to the right ends. The day of our triumph will be when truth triumphs, and that day will surely come. I speak of the sad spectacle which we have seen in the discomfiture of those who built up the party of bigotry and hate, and who are now the very Neros of the passions they have stirred up, but which they cannot quiet. Each of the men of mind who have led in the revolution which has changed the whole aspect of our country, has tried to check its violence or to direct its course into better channels, and each has been trampled down as ruthlessly as a herd of maddened buffaloes tread out the lives of their leaders if they stop in their speed or swerve from their course. Each of these men of brains, who thought they were guiding events, have had to pick themselves out of the dust into which they were tumbled, because they dared to speak out an honest opinion which did not chime with the coarse passions and narrow views of the mass of their party. The rough-hewn, vigorous editor of the *Tribune*, who, beyond other men, had pushed on the political fight against the South until he may partially claim to have done most of all to kindle the flames of civil war, saw, in its bloody course, that wise statesmanship could save the Union and stop the waste of life and treasure. He made the attempt, and the wild herd behind him trod him down. An eloquent clergyman, who prided himself upon boldness and daring, felt that he owed something to religion as well as to party; he tried to teach men that, as our Saviour came to save us while we were in open rebellion to Divine authority, we who prayed each night God's forgiveness of our daily sins, should at least have pity upon our brethren who had laid down their arms; but the bellowing crowds drowned the words of charity, and the frightened divine dare not to-day preach words of love and peace from our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount. The poets and philosophers, whose journal is read by the educated and thinking portion of society, once ventured to say that Congress was corrupt, its legislation destructive to the interests of the country, that its tariffs oppressed honest industry, and filled with dishonest gains the pockets of speculators and swindlers; but they never dared to face the threatening crowd. They know that the Southern States are kept out of

the Union because, as agricultural States, they would be represented by those who would act for the interests of commerce here, and for the interests of agriculture in the North-West. There was meaning in Mr. Wendell Phillips's statement in this hall, when he said South Carolina would have representation in Congress when it acted in accord with Massachusetts. Another editor, who trusted in his dexterity to ride upon many animals at once, tried to turn the brutal throng by the bait of office, and he has been so tossed upon their horns that neither he nor we can tell upon what spot he will fall. I might speak of others as well as these, who have learned the humiliating truth that their abilities govern less than the blind rage and stentorian lungs of men they despise in their hearts, and that they only keep their leadership by outrunning in an ignoble race brutal and stupid bigots. While I feel no friendship for these men, and while they think ill of me, I know they are men of ability; and it is a public evil when those most fitted to guide a great party become the mere slaves of the meaner passions of their associates.

The public safety is endangered when the ablest men of a governing party dare not speak out their honest thoughts, or act out their clear convictions. But there are Republicans who admit that Congress is too violent; that it is dangerous to leave open the great break in the circle of our National unity; and who see that there is a class of men who make their zeal and fanaticism pay by stealthily and steadily fastening upon the country a system of taxation which will enrich them at the cost of the general welfare. They also know that when laws are fastened upon the country, they cannot be got rid of; for a minority, by means of senatorial power, can stop the passage of a good law, or prevent the repeal of a bad one. The control of the great committees of the Senate has been given into the hands of the members from the small States.

These things are admitted by honest men, while adroitly it is said the blacks will be ill-treated unless the North protects them by a constitutional amendment. Now, it is the duty of all men to lift up the blacks as much as they can. It matters not how they were brought into their present condition. The people of the South are bound by every dictate of interest, of duty, of mercy, to take care of and educate the negroes of the South, and to elevate them as high in the social and political scale as can be done. This duty will fall upon the people of the South in any event. They and their ideas will govern the South, despite of any amendment made to the Constitution, or any armies we may station within its bounds. If we believe in our system of government, we believe they will most certainly do this duty well.

We must do one of two things. We must leave this matter in the hands of the people who have every motive and interest to make the blacks useful, intelligent, and industrious citizens; or leave it with the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, who have every interest and motive to keep them helpless and dependent. The love of power, the love of gain, and the love of office, all impel them to that course. Some of them may rise to the level of their duties; but the system violates every principle of business economy, of political policy, and of moral restraint, held by all classes of citizens. Unfortunately for themselves and the country, the interests of the Republican party de-

mand discord and disorder. Hence they hail with joy every act of violence and bloodshed, and they feel most confidence in party success when the country is most convulsed. They make the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau the witnesses to prove that the South is full of disorder and violence. Yet their witnesses are testifying for themselves. If they do not show this state of things, they will show that they are useless. They simply find for themselves when they find a verdict of guilty against the South.

The people of a number of Republican States have declared by their laws that the negroes within their borders are unfit to be electors, while they proclaim to the world that the slaves of the South are qualified for all the duties of citizenship. Since our political opponents insist that the South have done so much better with their negroes than we have done with ours, why should we take the matter out of their hands?

The question to be decided at this election is, Shall the State of New York add fuel to the flames which threaten to destroy the Union? At the end of a long and bloody civil war, which tested to the utmost the strength of our Government, and which has left us perplexed with problems growing out of debt, taxation, and constitutional law; of executive and congressional power; of military and political authority; when every thoughtful man is filled with anxieties about the future, it is proposed to add to this confusion by deposing the President. This act is to be done at a time when party spirit is to be influenced still more by the increase of party patronage, and is to be made a precedent for the future shifting of political power. We are not to stand before the world as a people who have saved our Government, but as a people who have entered upon a war of factions by the very way the enemies of our country have charged that all republics have sunk down into anarchy, and to which they asserted we should soon drift. There is danger in the pathway marked out by our opponents; there is none if they be shunned.

I do not say nor believe that the body of the Republicans want violence and discord; but the violence of all parties govern in the end. A party which is unchecked in its power loses control of its own action. The vigorous, excited minority within its own ranks, by the machinery of organization, governs the larger number, as was done in the last Congress. In every instance those in power have from year to year gone beyond their own purposes, because there has not been enough opposing force to keep them within the bounds which their own sober judgment feel to be right.

I ask thoughtful Republicans, now that their ascendancy is secured by the late elections, if they wish to see the acts of the last session of Congress repealed, because there was no considerable body of men who oppose with vigor the acts of unwise and extreme men? The Republican party, as well as the country, have much to fear from violence and corruption, when there are none to point out abuses or to lay bare the corruptions which are ever growing up in all governments and parties. If New York does not uphold the conservative and able men we have placed in nomination, it will not only indorse that which has been done at Washington, but it will be understood as demanding more acts of violence and discord. The theory of our Government is, that parties will be so balanced that neither can go

beyond safe limits. Those who framed our Constitution contemplated minorities as essential to the public good, and tried to secure for them a share in Government.

I believe the ticket headed by John T. Hoffman will be elected. I know it ought to be. Besides National questions, there are many reasons affecting local, fireside, and personal rights, which should call out the vigorous support of all classes of our citizens. The men we have placed before the public for their votes will prove true to their trusts. No charge can truthfully be made against their capacity or integrity. They are surrounded by no rings save the encircling throngs of the people of New York, who will let them into power for the public good. Mr. Hoffman has never failed to do his duty fearlessly and well, in every position in which he has been placed. I believe he is now to enter upon a career of usefulness and honor in this State. I know that he has the firmness and manhood to stand up against those assaults all must encounter in public life. He will not only aid in giving peace to our country at large, but he will also look to it, that the home rights of the people of this State are made safe; he will care for the fireside interests of our citizens, and protect each man in his personal interests, and in the free exercise of his religious faith, and the full expression of his thoughts and of his opinions.

Governor Seymour at the Democratic State Convention, Albany, N. Y., Oct. 3, 1867.

Rebellion subdued to give place to Revolution—Congress reviewed—Mad Extremes of the Senate—The Suffrage Question—Conflicting Views of the Political Status of the South—Prevalent Immorality and Crime in the Country—Financial Condition of the Country—Causes of the Decline of the Public Credit—The Southern Question pressed to cover Financial Embarrassments—The Greenback Question—A Republican Legislature pays its Interest in Depreciated Currency—Republicans in favor of Repudiation—Unfair Exhibits of the Public Debt—Increase of the Cost of the Government—The True Financial Policy—Reduction of Public Expenses required—Taxes divided between Officers and Violators of Law—Congressional legislation offers a Premium to Fraud—The Duty of Government to foster Commerce—Congress building up British Commerce and encouraging the growth of Cotton in India—The Restoration of the Union the crowning Requisite.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—We are startled by the cry of the leaders of the party holding political power, that our country is in great peril. After wading through the bloodshed of civil war, that peace which we hailed with joy, and which they told us was to give strength and prosperity to our land, brings new danger to the Republic. We cannot, if we would, escape from confronting the problems of the day. Neither safety, honor, nor patriotism will suffer us to stand dumb or inactive in the dark hour of danger. We have put down rebellion; we are now struggling with revolution. The first was sectional; the last is universal. The first sought to divide our country; the last threatens to destroy it.

At the National capital we see that the party which placed in power the present Chief Magistrate, now charges him with treason; and many of its leaders have instilled into the public mind the horrible suspicion that he was in league with the murderers who struck down the life which stood between him and the executive chair. The world is aghast while it hears so foul an accusation uttered in the halls of the Legislature without rebuke. In the House of Representatives members make against each other charges of judicial murder, robbery, theft, and corruption. A military member alleges his legal associate plotted the death and carried to the gallows an innocent woman for partisan purposes. The accuser is charged in return with the fact of going to the war a poor man and coming back a poor general and a rich man; laden, not with the spoils of victory, but plunder stolen from those placed under his protection. The Congressman who stands up as the accuser of the President is confronted by his own letter, showing his utter rottenness. We are saved from the hateful task of laying bare the frauds and crimes of those who are administering our Government. God's law for punishing the guilty makes them become mutual accusers. In the hate and rage which ever springs up among criminals, all are anxious to turn upon and convict their fellow.

While the Senate has done less to shock the world and bring our Government into contempt, it has been the forum where principles have been asserted and a policy pursued revolutionary in tendency and far-reaching in their influences to keep alive disorder and political convulsions. In its blindness it is striking suicidal blows against its own existence. Its members have become the ruling power in our Government. Vested with equal rights of law-making with the popular branch, they can also decide upon all treaties which, within their scope, rise above the statutes. They control the appointing power; for the vast patronage of Government can only be exercised with their consent. They can, as a judicial body, depose the President or Vice-President elected by the people, and put one of their own members into the executive chair. They hold their places by terms longer than those of any other elective branch of Government, yet they do not, in the nature of their organization, represent the people in form or fact. They are chosen by Legislatures, not by the people. States having, by the census of 1860, less than one-quarter of the population of our country, appoint a majority of its members. Nine States whose citizens are more than one-half of this people, are represented by only one-fourth of its members. Thus made up and wielding a power overtopping that of all other branches, they should pause and ponder well before opening the floodgates of revolution. Yet, if these members sought to have the Senate rubbed out of the constitutional scheme, they could not do acts more hateful to the people, or give reasons more powerful for its overthrow, than their own teachings with regard to the rights of impartial suffrage and by their action in the face of their teachings. Colorado, which may be overrun by hostile Indians before the year passes, which cannot by force of its numbers uphold the rudiment of a State, was admitted merely to gain two votes in a struggle with the Executive. But a bolder act is in view unless this dangerous game to get power over the majority by a rotten-borough system is stopped. Twenty senators are to be

admitted from ten States lately in rebellion, not as representatives of the white people, for they are disfranchised; not of the blacks, for it is indecent to claim that a race who are declared by Congress to be unable to take care of themselves, and are placed under the guardianship of the Freedmen's Bureau and military chiefs, would, as a body, know of the existence of such representatives; but they are to be admitted because they hold the views of the majority of the senators, and because they are sent to Washington by their agents. These senators mean to be their own constituents, to become a close corporation, and to have more representatives of their own selection than the majority of the people of the country living in nine States. About sixty Republican senators will, beyond their own votes, have in the twenty members sent by the Freedmen's Bureau more representatives than sixteen millions of American people living in New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Missouri. Not content with holding in subjection the people of the South, they mean to extend, in the name of the negro, their domination over the North and South alike. It would seem that this madness was enough to make their destruction sure.

But after acts like these they solemnly declare they are in favor of what they call manhood suffrage. Be it so; but with it must go manhood representation. Manhood suffrage must not be used to destroy the rights of the majority of the people of this country. If it is the natural right of a negro in Florida to have a vote, it is not his right to have it count forty-fold, in the Senate of the United States, that of a man in New York. If it is the natural right of a man in New York to have a vote, it is also his natural right to have it count as much in the controlling branch of the Government as that of a man in Rhode Island. If this revolution is begun, it must go on to its logical, just end. It must not roll on the necks of the majority of the American people and stop there; but numbers must be represented, not rotten boroughs or sham States. We implore senators not to begin revolution. Be content with your vast powers. Your organization is at war with impartial suffrage and impartial representation. If you continue your usurpation, the country may not be content with driving you back within constitutional limits. It may go further, and, acting upon doctrines you assert, it may crush you out and make another Senate based in truth upon manhood suffrage.

The country needs peace, but if you will have revolution it cannot stop at any chalk-lines you may mark out. The nine States with a majority of the people, with Iowa, Minnesota, and Michigan, all of which are now virtually disfranchised in your body, for they are controlled by the representatives of a quarter of our population—if our Government is to be reshaped, will have their full rights. They are not suffering merely from theoretical wrongs. The destruction of the carrying-trade of New York, and the over-taxation of the North West, show how unequal distribution of power makes unequal burdens. During the war of the rebellion we felt the exertion of the senatorial power upon the weak head of the Enrolling Bureau, in fixing the quotas of States. While their purposes were to save their own constituents from the sacrifices of war, by so doing they threw upon other States the cost of life and blood. In New York this grew into abuses so flagrant, that even partisan passions could not be blind to

the outrages. But the North-Western States suffered the most severely from this injustice. I have the official proof that while the average quotas in the congressional districts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were 2,167,

In Illinois they were.....	4,004
In Indiana they were.....	3,248
In Wisconsin they were.....	3,172
In Michigan they were.....	3,047

We ask the people of New England if it is not time for them to stop the stupid malice of their senators; to put a stop to the teaching that New England senatorial power is in violation of natural rights. We suffer in New York by the present constitutional law, but we seek peace. We wish to uphold the constitutional powers of all the States. We remember the glorious part they bore in the revolutionary contest. If time has changed their comparative population, we do not wish to strip them of any political power. We implore them not to teach doctrines which must, in their ends, be destructive to them and hurtful to the peace of the country.

What is the social condition of the country? I shall speak only of the situation of the North. It is not possible to fasten the Republican party to any stand-point as to the condition of the Southern people. They are in or out of the Union as partisan purposes demand. They must carry constitutional amendments, but they are punished if they vote. They must do their political duties, but are held to be criminal if they take part in public affairs. The Southern people have to deal with political problems more bewildering than the theological dogmas which are set forth in the verse:—

“You can, and you can’t;
You will, and you won’t;
You’ll be damned if you do;
And you’ll be damned if you don’t.”

The social state of our country is alarming. The public is startled with unusual violence and murder throughout our land. Men, and women too, kill those who have done them wrong; life and property have become unsafe. Our people learned to do these things from those who should have taught reverence for the laws. The seeds which were sown when men were imprisoned, mobbed, or murdered, because they honestly differed from the party in power, are now springing up in an abundant harvest of crime, which plagues and curses those who were actors in violence, or consenting witnesses to outrage upon their neighbors. If, when an unworthy Secretary of State boasted to the representatives of kingly power that American liberty was a sham, and that he could do what Britain’s monarch dare not—imprison without warrant and punish without trial—his weak and wicked vanity had been fittingly whipped by justice, the floodgates of violence would not have been opened. But he was upheld, and a horde of robbers and brutal men, drunk with unusual power, were organized as spies and detectives, and let loose upon the public. The spirit of cowardly and criminal violence that was sent out from the Department of State, in time stalked back into the chamber of the

Secretary in the foul form of the assassin. Murder, robbery, and arson afflict the people who did not care what wrongs were done to their neighbors. If we would avert God's just judgment, let us all now try to bring back reverence for the laws which our fathers left us as a heritage, and which we have wasted. It was not courage, but cowardice, which made the Administration trample upon laws, courts, and home rights, and made judges trail their ermines in the dust.

But I will pass by the question growing out of administrative crimes and follies, to speak of that which is uppermost in men's minds—our financial condition. Upon this we should be outspoken and true. It burdens and harasses labor. It hinders and perplexes business. It carries taxation and curse into every home. We owe a vast debt, made by the consent of the people of this country. In the details of heaping it up, there was much of fraud and more of folly. But at the time, and since its creation, the citizens of the United States have in their elections approved of these acts of their representatives. The fabric of our Government has been already fearfully shaken by the violation of personal and political rights; we must not add repudiation to the list of crimes which destroy confidence in Republican Governments.

The first step to uphold the public faith is to put forth an honest statement of our affairs. The credit of our Government is lower in the markets of the world than that of any Christian nation in Europe. It has sunk to the level of that of the Turk, the "sick man of the East." When you look at the list of prices of National stocks, you will find that our bonds, taking into account the great interest we pay, are selling for about half the price given for those of Great Britain. When we lay them side by side upon the counter of the capitalist, he takes the British bond at a rate which will give him back in the course of twenty years only \$1,700, while we pay him \$2,700 during the same time. That is to say, when the United States borrows \$1,000 in gold, it pays the lender, principal and interest, in twenty years, \$2,700; England pays only \$1,700. When we borrow \$1,000,000, we pay on a twenty-year loan \$2,700,000; England pays only \$1,700,000.

But leaving the markets of the world, and coming to our own shores, we find our citizens will not trust our Government upon the same terms which they give to their neighbors. The bonds of the United States pay an interest to those who buy them of about eight per cent. They also give an exemption from taxation, worth one or two per cent. more. Yet men eagerly seek safe securities which, with the drawback of taxation, pay but about half the interest given by our Government. Every day's report from Europe that flashes along the electric line, tells that the nation's credit is lower than that of the bonds put forth by a corporation of its own creation.

Our shame is proclaimed in the markets of the world once in twenty-four hours. This is a position of danger and disgrace. At any moment foreign war or civil commotion may topple over this feeble credit and leave us helpless, despite all our resources, and our boastful sense of National power. Why does the world—why do our own citizens distrust the faith of the Government? Why, when this question presses itself upon the public mind, do those who hold political power in our land strive to turn public attention away from the subject?

Constant efforts to keep alive the passions of the North, do not spring so much from hatred of the South, as from the fear that the people may look into the financial condition of the country. When taxation presses heavily upon labor, a new committee is at once ordered by Congress, to look up or invent Southern outrages. A series of telescopic views of far-off and irritating subjects are constantly held up to the public eye, lest these things which most concern us at home should get a share of our scrutiny. They are anxious at the pending election to keep men's thoughts intent upon the squabble between military and civil members of their party. They would have these bubbles of the hour take up the attention of our people. This through all time has been the device of those unable to face their creditors, or who seek public or private plunder.

I believe wise statesmanship can save our honor, can pay our debts, and lift the load of taxation from our people. Let us, then, confront these financial problems. Why is our National credit so low? Because ours is the only Government in the world that seeks to keep alive hatred and discord within its borders; because it is revolutionary in its tendencies; because it tramples upon all those rights of person, of property, of freedom of thought and opinion, which had heretofore been the living principles of our political fabric, and which alone gives it strength and value; because it has violated all the pledges which it gave from time to time, in the course of the rebellion; because it influenced the different States making up the Union, to repudiate their sacred obligations. They say with truth, that to pay a man with debased paper money when he has had the promise of coin, is bad faith. Yet in New York, the great commercial State of the Union, when we were about to pay the public creditor, who had given us not a depreciated currency, but sterling coin, the interest money that was due him, he was forced to take a debased paper, at times worth less than one-half its face. As Governor of this State, I implored a Republican Legislature not to do this great wrong. I pointed out the cost of repudiation to our State and nation; I reminded them that we could not disgrace the chief—the commercial State of this Union, the most popular and wealthy of all, without bringing shame upon our land. The appeal was made in vain. Every Democratic senator voted in favor of keeping up the faith of the State, while each Republican placed himself upon the record in favor of repudiation. This one base act has cost our State tenfold in coin the price of an honest payment of our debts. It has thrown upon us a shame which no words can tell.

Another cause for the low, and at this time waning credit of the Government, is that the business men of the world see that the statements put forth by the Treasury are used to mislead the people. I do not charge that they are untrue; they give the amount of bond and currency debt, and such claims as appear upon the books of the department, but they are used to make the false impression upon the minds of the people, that the burdens of taxation will soon grow lighter, and that the public securities are gaining in real strength and value. Perhaps it is not the fault of the Secretary that they do not set forth other facts which fill with alarm every thoughtful man. We are in truth making in this country another form of indebtedness, which does not appear upon his books, but which is a prior lien to

that held by the public creditor. When a Government by its policy fastens upon a people new and lasting expenses, it makes obligations which are as burdensome to the tax-payers as if they were annual interest upon its bonds.

When our Government entered upon the plan of governing the South by military power, when it resolved to upturn the whole political structure in one-third of the Union, by disfranchising the intelligent white man, and giving to the ignorant negro political control, it increased the permanent cost of this Government to about two hundred millions every year. The man does not live who will see the day when this military power and its fearful cost can be cut down under the policy which now directs our public affairs. Our public expenses, apart from interest on the debt, have gone up from \$58,000,000 in 1860, to about \$185,000,000. In 1866, if we add the interest on the debt, it foots up \$322,000,000. Our rulers are making, beyond the cost of the last Democratic Administration, and beyond the interest on any debt, extra charges upon the Treasury of \$127,000,000, or what would be the interest at five per cent. on \$2,500,000,000. But this is not all; as these new charges are counted among the expenses of the Government, they are prior liens, and must be first paid.

If the pledges of the party in power had been kept, to-day there would have been but a narrow margin between the claims of the bond-holder and the sum paid by revenues into the National treasury. But the world now sees an army with banners, a host of officials, and vast and corrupting expenditure, wedging in between the public treasury and the public creditor. The latter is constantly pushed back in the order of payment. He finds his demand rapidly sinking toward the bottom of a lengthening list of claims. Yet the bondholders are called upon by the Republican leaders to act as a rear-guard to the hosts who are emptying the treasury, and putting into their own pockets the money which should go to the public creditor.

There is another peril to the holders of our securities; the odium of taxation is thrown upon them. The people are taught that the money wrung from them by the tax-gatherer all goes to the holders of bonds, yet in truth while \$137,000,000 was paid for interest in 1866, \$185,000,000 was given to uphold armies and military power, to officials, to the Freedmen's Bureau to feed and clothe the negro, and other expenses growing out of the policy of crushing out the Southern States. Men of the North, you will soon find that the fetters forged for the hands of the South are light indeed compared with the yokes which are placed upon your necks. The annual increase of the cost of our Government beyond its expenses in 1860, is equal to the interest at six per cent. upon a debt of \$2,100,000,000. It is due to the Secretary of the Treasury to say that any warning he has given against waste and corruption, has been unheeded by Congress. Are we then lessening our National obligations?

Again, while the Republican journals use the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury to encourage their following with hope of relief, they do not point out to them the startling fact, that if the volume of bonded debt is diminished, the interest to be paid upon that debt is growing greater. The policy of our rulers is to turn non-interest paying obligations into a tax-exacting form, so that the Treasury

reports show that the taxation demanded to pay the National interest is growing greater each day.

It may be asked if we can cure the evils under which our country labors? If we can lift off the heavy burden of taxation which crushes our industry? If we can build up the credit of our nation? Wipe off the disgrace which soils our credit, and remove the danger which threatens the safety of the Republic? If I did not believe that we could do all this, I would not stand here to impeach the wisdom of those in power. I do not call in question the motives of the mass of the Republican party, but I aver, and time has proved, that its organization cannot discharge the horde of officers which eats up the substance of our country. And I will show why, without claiming for ourselves superior virtue or patriotism, the instincts and policy of the Republican party lead us to bankruptcy, and float bad men to the surface of public affairs, and corrupt officials in the discharge of their duties. And why, upon the other hand, our policy, although our ranks are filled, as theirs are, by good and bad men, leads to opposite results.

Those who now hold the power have not only hewed up to the line of repudiation, but they have done the public creditor wrong in other respects; they have turned away the public mind from all scrutiny into our financial condition; they have not tried to give value to the public credit; they have, in that boastful spirit which made the late civil war so wasteful of blood and treasure, by understating the difficulties and dangers of the public position, tried to deaden the public sense with regard to impending danger. If we put the value of our bonds upon a level with those of Great Britain, we add more than two thousand millions to the value of the securities held by our citizens. This simple act would give a vast amount of wealth to the holder, greater security to the laboring men and women who have put their earnings into savings banks which are secured by these stocks, and would place the paper money of the country upon a basis above distrust. This one act, like a magic wand, would change the aspect of our affairs, and would give us vast wealth and resources. Yet it would not cost the tax-payer one cent! It would, in fact, lessen his burden. The measures which would do this would lift off from the labor of the country the burdens which now crush down so many industrial pursuits. The policy which must give character to our bonds must, in the nature of things, give prosperity to our country and profit to labor. These must rise and fall together.

I do not own a Government bond; I have deplored the waste and corruption which piled up the National debt; I have protested against the criminal folly which exempted them from taxation; but these were acts of the American people, through their lawful representatives, and have been sanctioned by them in their subsequent elections, and they should pay the penalty. I would keep the public faith. While we condemn the errors of the past, let us, with zeal, seek to make the future prosperous by patient, patriotic efforts to bring back again our Government to its former wisdom, honesty, and simplicity. Why should not our credit be made as good as that of Britain? We owe less, our means are greater. Why is not our credit better than that of the Turk, whose wealth and power do not compare with ours? Simply because these powers are seeking to uphold the integrity of

their domain, the peace and well-being of their people, and to keep down the cost of their government.

In no other government in the world than ours are military officers, wielding despotic powers, told that they will be deposed when peace and order exist within their domains. In no other country than ours are agents, like those of the Freedmen's Bureau, bribed by the love of power and by the love of gain to keep up discord and instigate sectional hate. If the expenses of our Government had been put down to an expense twice as great as that spent by the last Democratic Administration, and the balance of our income had been used to pay the public debt, our bonds would have been worth as much as those of Britain, and nearly twice their present value. It is not the bond-holder, it is the office-holder who most taxes our people and wrings from labor the fruits of its toil. These are the vampires that suck the blood of the people. It is not the taskmaster, but the Government agents and officials who force the mechanic to lengthened hours of toil, for he must support these as well as his family before he can take rest for his wearied limbs. If the money collected by Government, after letting the Republicans spend twice as much as was ever used by a Democratic Administration, was paid to lessen our debt, not only would we give wealth to the bond-holder and relief to the tax-payer, but we should lessen the cost of all that our country buys. It would go into market with a better credit. We could then command the specie of the world; we could gain it in exchange for our securities as the governments of Europe do. Now they are peddled out all over Europe at half price, in exchange for dry goods and groceries. They are taken cautiously and slowly, although the European buyer gets an interest of about eight per cent. in coin, while the rate of interest paid for money in London to-day is barely two per cent.

Does not every man see and know that this monstrous disgrace would not stain the honor of our country if there was a wise, honest, and patriotic administration of its affairs? Do not the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury show that we could swiftly wipe out our debt if our income was not perverted to partisan purposes? Do not the columns of the press teem with statements of official plunder and frauds in every quarter of our land, while public virtue rots under this wasteful expenditure of the public fund? It is said it is repudiation to force our legal-tenders upon the bond-holders. What makes it so? The low credit of the country. Build that up; make your paper as good as gold, and this question cannot come up. Then the bond-holder will not care which you give him. This controversy grows out of the fact that men do not believe our legal-tenders are, or ever will be, as good as gold. If it is repudiation to pay such money it was repudiation to make it, and it is repudiation to keep it debased by waste and by partisan plans to keep our country in disorder and danger. Give a decent credit to our bonds and we can make new loans. We can pay off those which are exempt from taxation, and make the burdens of the Government rest equally easy upon all.

Let me say a few words to bond-holders. It is a hard thing for tax-payers to pay the National debt. It is a hard thing to pay interest ranging from eight to fifteen per cent., according to the prices you gave for these bonds. It is still harder to stand by and see that

you bear no part of the cost of the laws which protect your person and property and educate your children. It is hard for the farmers, with falling prices for their produce, to stand up under these things. It is hard for the mechanic to labor ten or twelve hours each day, when eight hours would support him, but for the increased cost of living, growing out of taxation. We are struggling to keep the public faith with you. Will you add three-fold to these burdens by upholding a policy which distracts our country, endangers society, corrupts our Government, and oppresses labor? Our rulers are as untrue to you as they are to constitutional law and civil liberty. I heard, many years ago, at the outset of the agitation which plunged us into civil war, the men who claim the honor of that result, declare in public assemblages that "Slavery was a crime, and that all property was slavery." I hear to-day the echo of that cry from senatorial lips. You can, if you will, put an end to disorder, corruption, and revolution.

But the reports of the Treasury do not show the full volume of money drawn from our people by taxation. I do not speak of the heavy burdens of State, county, or municipal taxation. These are all marked with the spirit of cost and corruption engendered at the National capital. But I wish to call your attention to the sums drawn from the people which are never reported or accounted for. Take for instance the tax upon alcohol, and I might instance many other items of illicit traffic, where the consumer pays, but the treasury does not receive the duties levied. The amount of alcohol used in this country is about one hundred millions of gallons, the duties should be about two hundred millions of dollars each year. The amount paid into the treasury is less than fifty millions. Who gets the one hundred and fifty millions? A sum nearly three times as great as the yearly cost of the Government before the party of "great moral ideas" came into power. This sum is paid by the consumer, in the arts, or for the gratification of his tastes. Every man knows this enormous amount is divided in some way—sometimes fairly and sometimes corruptly—between the officer of the law and the violator of the law.

This tax began with a fraud in Congress, in the darkest days of the rebellion. When the National credit was at its lowest ebb, a foul speculation was contrived by buying up the alcohol in our country, then putting a tax of two dollars per gallon on all that should be thereafter made, but no tax upon the amount thus held by these conspirators. Millions were thus swept from the treasury into "loyal pockets." Those who made this law knew from the experience of all nations that this tax could not be collected, but it answered their purpose, and when the occasion had gone by, perchance from shame or from partisan purpose, it still stands upon the statute book, and under its provisions hosts of officials are made and corrupted. And all over our land men are bribed to become criminals by rewards a hundred-fold greater than are offered by honest labor. One hundred and fifty millions each year, four-fold more than is given our schools or churches for education or religion, is spent to cherish crime and corruption. And every man who shares in this plunder, whether officers of the law or offenders against the law, has a vital interest in keeping those in power who thus legislate against all experience, if not against honesty. When you add the frauds in other departments.

and in regard to other articles, we see how the ranks of the Grand Army of Rogues and Office-holders is recruited. Not by those who fell wounded upon the battle-field, but by those who have fallen from virtue. Not by those who have won glory in the contest of arms, but by those who get great gains by assaults upon the treasury. The people of Europe, when we ask them to buy our bonds, look at these things and see that they foster waste, corruption, and decay.

Another measure is needed to restore our credit and our honor. Give us back our commerce. A few years since we were a great maritime power—our ships whitened every ocean. Where are they now? Official reports show that the carrying trade, once a source of wealth and power, has been nearly lost. The ships which bear our products abroad, or bring the immigrant to our shore, sail under foreign flags. Our commerce was swept from the sea, not by Southern corsairs, but by Northern Congressmen. Britain will pay for the few vessels burned by privateers fitted out in her ports, not from a sense of justice, but from a feeling of gratitude toward an Administration that has done so much to build up her power and greatness. She has reaped all the fruits of our civil war. She is now indeed the mistress of the sea. We no longer vex her with our rivalry. We once stood in the way of her ambition; we built better and cheaper vessels. Our skill upon the seas was unrivalled; our untaxed artisans were driving her out of her best markets. Her looms could not move unless we gave her cotton. All is now changed. Our shipyards are idle. American imports and American exports are borne over the ocean under British or foreign flags. Our manufacturers call upon Congress to help them live against foreign competition upon our own soil. We pile up tariffs to fence out cheap products, and then load down labor with taxation, until the burdens of our Government overtop the protection we give by duties upon foreign imports, and so a leaden pall weighs upon our industry.

Beyond all this, we have given Britain that for which she has heretofore planned and schemed in vain—cotton-producing colonies. Her India possessions, which were of doubtful value, are now made by Republican stupidity the source of enormous wealth, and the successful rivals of American industry. In five years before the rebellion the annual value of the cotton sent from India was about \$17,000,000. In the five following, the annual average was about \$113,000,000. In 1866 it rose to nearly the sum of \$150,000,000. More effectually to foster this branch of British industry, Congress gives it a bonus in the markets of the world by putting an export duty on American cotton. While her production grows great ours falls off. Never in all her history has she had such allies as the Republican party. Her people can well afford to give marked honors to those who have brought our country upon the verge of ruin.

The great and crowning measure to lessen the taxation of the North; to shorten the hours of labor for our mechanics; to raise the credit of our securities; to insure the peace and safety of our land, is to give us back our Union. We can no longer bear the cost of armies, of spendthrift agents, of corrupt officials, of food and clothing to vagrant idlers, of meddling with the concerns of far-off States, and of neglecting our own affairs. It is at this point that the antagonisms of party show themselves in principles as well as policy.

Talk as we may about the rise and fall of parties, there are sentiments in the minds of our people which will always make one party favoring centralization and meddling. It may in the future, as in the past, change its name and pretext, as the result of its policy makes it odious. It has filled our land with bloodshed and strife. It has loaded us down with debt and taxation. It has put back religion, temperance, and virtue, by dragging them into political strife, and by the passage of laws which tend to make them odious in the minds of the people. It is ever on the lookout for some pretext to meddle with the rights of men, upon some ground of birth, of lineage, of religious belief, of social custom. These, more than positive crimes, excite its passions. While our German citizens, a people marked for their frugality, industry, good order, and freedom from intemperance, have been arrested and imprisoned because their social habits differ from our own, not one of our public officers, who are charged and convicted by their own friends of fraud and public robberies, have ever been brought to the bar of justice.

Against the policy of meddling and centralization we oppose the doctrine that government is made strong by leaving States and individuals as much as we can to their own action; that minding your own business and letting your neighbor's business alone, is good statesmanship in public, and good morals in private life.

If any man doubts the influence of a change of the men in power, let him look at the effect of the victories we have gained. Since the result in Maine, California, and Connecticut, a Republican Convention has discovered that foreign-born citizens have rights; that there ought to be freedom enough in the land to let the German have the social customs endeared to him by the association of home, and that he was not bound to give up all his rights of opinion, and all his freedom of action, when he became an American citizen. As the shadow of coming defeat falls upon the Republicans, they even promise to become honest; and in their zeal they have pitched overboard all of their officials who have not robbed the treasury. We will end the good work they began, by throwing the rogues after them. Let us lift up the Democratic standard, and lift it high. Let us fight for fireside rights, for freedom of opinion, for an honest management of public affairs. Above all, let us battle for the restoration of the Union, and may God defend the right.

Governor Seymour at the Democratic State Convention, Albany, N. Y., March 11, 1868.

Unsettled state of the Country—The Negro Question—Tariffs and Taxes—Congress and Morals—Finances—Currency—The Greenback Question—The Democratic Party and the National Debt—An Appeal for the Public Credit—A Word to Capitalists—The National Debt—Why opposed to Congress—Andrew Johnson—Impeachment—Another Impeachment—What must be Done.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—We have seen that under the policy of our fathers, which was adhered to for seventy years, we

became a great and prosperous people, with light burdens of taxation, which were fairly and equally imposed, with freedom from official meddling, that made us the envy and admiration of the world. It is now our duty to see what have been the results, in seven years, of the "policy of hate." The condition and laws of the land call upon us to sit in judgment upon rulers. Sad and painful as the duty may be, we must boldly probe to the bottom every ulcer and every wound upon the body politic.

The war is ended, but peace has not returned. We have won the victory, but our Union is not restored. Our land is filled with mourning and distress, but anger, malice, and revenge are not softened. The noble strife of arms has ceased, but the ignoble struggle for power, plunder, and place goes on. Congress has done more to destroy the Union, to break down the fabric of our Government, and to efface the maxims and principles of our people, than was ever aimed at by rebellion. Its system of tyranny and corruption has not even the merit of being well-defined, intelligent, nor consistent. It has been bewildered for want of intelligence; inconsistent and inconstant for want of principles; cruel from cowardice, and brutal from its instincts. These are not charges made only by political opponents—they are admitted by its supporters, many of whom implore it to stop in its mad career. The records of this body, and its own statute laws, show its inconsistent and imbecile policy. There are laws which tell you that when there was an armed, open, and at the time successful rebellion, these men held that the Southern States were not, and could not be, out of the Union. They formally called upon them for their quota to put down their own resistance to law. When the Southern States had laid down their arms they were told that they were not States in the Union. So the congressional theory is that they did not lose their State rights by rebellion, but by submission. But these States were told if they would abolish slavery they would have their place again. Slavery was abolished by their action, and they made it unconstitutional in any part of the Union. They were then told they were no States at all, but unlawful combinations. So it followed that by abolishing slavery they half abolished themselves.

Then it was held that their society was reduced to a chaotic state, and Congress would at once send down a military force to organize free, popular, and representative governments at the point of the bayonet. It would seem that ingenuity could go no further, but it did. It is a very notorious fact that nearly one-half of the people of the excluded States are negroes; that they are in form, color, and character unlike the whites, and that they are, in their present condition, an ignorant and degraded race. It is the clear duty of all men to lift them up as high as we can in intelligence, virtue, and religion. It is no time to stop and dispute about ethnological questions. We must do the best we can with them and for them; and I have no doubt such will be the course of the Southern States. Their safety, happiness, and prosperity demand it. When they were about to enter upon their duty, Congress again steps forward, moved by a profound wisdom, and tells the South there must be no more black or white men, no more differences of color, and that they must solemnly declare in their new State governments that it shall be un-

lawful and a high crime to see or know the fact that any man is of African descent. But the people of the South replied, how can we do justice to these people if we do not respect the truths of their condition? Congress answers in the spirit of the witty Frenchman, "If facts stand in the way, so much the worse for facts." You must pass laws in your conventions abolishing these vile truths. You must not know that there are such wicked things as differences of race, color, and condition, except you may, if you please, know that a man is an Indian.

Having abolished the black man and made him a white man, by act of legislation, Congress hoped for rest in their efforts to weave a rope of sand which was to bind the men together; but the constitution of Alabama was rejected—the people would not vote for it; whereupon Senator Sherman, in full view of the fact that the President was menaced with impeachment if he violated the Reconstruction Act, moved that Congress itself violate this same measure by admitting Alabama under a constitution of its own rejection.

The policy of Congress is more cruel toward the blacks than the whites. These poor people, who are now on trial to test their capacity to take care of themselves, are thrust into positions demanding wisdom, learning, and experience. The want of these in their conventions and official life has exposed them to the ridicule of the world, and is a serious hindrance to their progress; it has filled their minds with false views and hopes; it has turned them away from the duties of life; it has misled them as to the need of virtue, intelligence, and industry; it is pushing them back into barbarism by making them feel they can hold power before they have learned the demands of social life and liberty. So much for this miserable muddle of reconstruction. How can a Congress satisfy the people which cannot satisfy itself; that has never been able to keep upon one course for six months; that condemns and shames itself by constant change, repeal, and amendments?

Their action upon tariffs and business interests has been equally blundering, inconsistent, and imbecile. It keeps our merchants and manufacturers in a condition of uncertainty, and all agree that a perpetual Congress is a perpetual curse. Within the past few years it has made nearly monthly changes in the tariffs. It hinders labor and enterprise by heavy burdens, and hunts down our merchants and manufacturers with an army of official spies and informers; and it gives these the power to ruin men of limited means by false charges. It puts our Government not only in a light that is hateful, but what is more dangerous, it makes it pitiable. If our young men wish to engage in business, or to seek homes in the West, and they ask from those who have money to lend the aid which has heretofore been given for those purposes, they are told that the Government, which ought to be paternal, will pay a higher interest than the law will let the citizens give, or than they can afford to give, and, also, beyond this, will exempt them from taxation. Congress paralyzes, in this way, the industry of the land.

Whichever way you look, you see that the party in power is a blight upon the honor, happiness, and industrial pursuits of our people. Our carrying-trade upon the ocean is destroyed, our ship-yards are idle, our merchants are distressed, our manufacturers complain that

taxation outweighs the protection of tariff, and our farmers are indignant with unequal and insulting exemption from the cost of local, State, and National Governments.

Upon one point only has it been firm and unyielding. In order to help a foul speculation it put a tax of 500 per cent. upon alcohol, which, the experience of the world and our own experience show, cannot be collected. It retains it with a perfect knowledge that it merely ministers to public and official corruption. The officers of the law and the violators have, under its provisions, taken more from the people than the interest of the public debt up to this time. In this strength they control the action of the Government, and this great stream of corruption is now the life-blood of a party held together by the cohesive power of public plunder.

Congress is not only keeping the Government disorganized and the business of the country unhelped and perplexed, but it is also unsettling the morals of the country. It proclaims to the world the sanctity of bonds, obligations, and contracts, and at the same time, under the influence and by the action of its party friends, many of the States which make up the Union have defrauded the public creditors by forcing them to take depreciated paper in return for the coin, or its equivalent, which was given for their bonds. Going still deeper in dishonor by its laws, the debtor who may have received coin or other consideration equally valuable, and who has in solemn covenant agreed to pay in coin, is allowed and encouraged to violate his faith and to compel his creditor to take debased paper. Is it strange that in the face of these things our credit is tainted in the markets of the world, and that our bonds sell for less than those of the Turks?

If the morality of the citizens of the country is undermined, if the faith of the States making up the Union is dishonored, where is the security of the National credit? The late Republican State Convention expressed its horror of repudiation. Will its members explain the villany which forced the creditors of this great commercial State to take paper at one time worth but fifty cents on the dollar? This was done in the face of entreaties from a Democratic Governor not to dishonor New York, and in opposition to the votes of every Democratic Senator. Will these men explain the indecency of an official in another State who insulted a foreign creditor for asking money as good as that he had loaned to the second State of the Union? Yet its Republican Legislature refused to rebuke the indecent action of this indecent official.

Questions of finance, of debt and taxation, have harassed all nations and perplexed statesmen in all periods. We have got to meet them surrounded with new difficulties and dangers. We do not yet know the full sum of the liquidated and unliquidated claims. The monthly statements show that it is a swelling flood, whose volume is not yet measured, and whose depth is unplumbed. Our people are unused to a Government which pries into every private transaction to extort tribute. They are bewildered with the train of spies, informers, and officials, always brought into use where taxes are taken from one class and paid to another. The irritation is increased when the creditor enjoys, beyond an ample and usurious interest, special privileges and exemptions.

There is a greater peril. We were once divided into free and slave

States. The antagonism in the end filled our land with bloodshed and mourning. As the public bonds are mainly held in one corner of our country, we are now divided into debtor and creditor States. What will be the end of this? At an early stage of the war, we warned the party in power against this fearful result of their policy. We warned them in vain.

Nay, more, as if bent upon making ruin certain, they built up a banking system which was to have a monopoly of putting out currency, and was to get double usury—interest from Government upon its bonds, and interest from the people upon the currency issued upon those bonds. To render its monopoly complete, all other banks were taxed out of existence. But madness and folly did not stop here. These banks were not allotted to the different States, so there should be even geographical fairness; but the States which held the bonds, which had the most wealth and made the most money out of the war, were allowed to absorb nearly the whole of the \$300,000,000 to which they were limited, while the States which most needed currency in their transactions were cut off. Let me give one instance to show upon what rule the spoils of victory and the burdens of war were distributed. The State of Massachusetts has of the banking privilege \$56,000,000; Illinois \$9,000,000. Yet Illinois is the more populous State, and to send its produce to market needs more currency than any State in the Union. But when men must be had to fill the ranks of our armies, then each State must give its quota.

Now, we have ever had a plain rule to get at the just share of taxes and burdens. Taxation and representation must go together. But a new system was gotten up for the quota. They were based upon the enrolment of able-bodied men. Under this rule there were endless questions as to liability to be enrolled and constructions of law. Orders and counter-orders and explanatory orders were put forth by the Provost-Marshal-General, until every one was bewildered. But under all this there were quiet manipulations which made the following result: In Democratic districts in this State the men were held to be vigorous and robust and fit to bear arms. In Republican districts they were loyal but weakly. In Massachusetts the men as a class were so feeble that a congressional district could only send 2,167. In Illinois, districts had to send 4,004.

So much for the burdens. How was the spoil divided? We find that bank stock was given to Massachusetts at the rate of \$52 to each inhabitant, and to Illinois at the rate of \$6 to each! The record will show how earnestly in this place and elsewhere we protested against this madness and folly. Alarmed at this new source of danger to our country, as it was a period of great distress at the West, in my message of 1864 I urged the Legislature to reduce the tolls on Western produce or to carry it toll free, in order to check the hostile feelings growing up in that section of the country against the Atlantic States. But I urged in vain. Our canals were in the hands of thieves and robbers, who would not let these tolls be diverted from their own pockets. The shadow of this sectional question now falls upon us. It has made confusion in the Republican ranks in Congress. The resolution to pay Government bonds in gold, which was confidently brought forward at the beginning of the session, sleeps in committee-rooms and will never see the light again. Men of both parties at the

West will struggle to be foremost in measures which will meet the feelings of that section.

It has been proposed to pay most of these bonds in the paper money called greenbacks, and it is claimed that this will save the people \$400,000,000, without doing injustice to their holders, as it is alleged it was the contract they should thus be paid. This is denied by others, and it is clear that the proposal has excited alarm, not only as to the mode of payment, but as to a growing feeling in favor of repudiating the whole debt. This springs out of the stupid folly which exempted the bond-holders from taxation, which lowered the price of the bond, as it made from the beginning a distrust that a measure so odious would endanger their payment. The next cause of this feeling is the fact that the party in power, to shield themselves from the odium of crushing taxation, give out that this is necessary to pay our debts, when, in fact, two-thirds of the money wrung from the people is wasted in corruption, or lavished upon officials, or spent in upholding the enormous cost of our Government under its policy of keeping one-third of the States out of the Union by military force. The whole odium of this taxation they throw upon the debt and the bond-holders.

The last and perhaps the greatest peril to the public credit and honor, is the fact which meets us at every turn, and annoys wherever met, that the bond-holder is paid in coin, while honest labor gets a debased paper money. This state of affairs alarms every thoughtful man. How are these perils to be averted? We boldly and honestly met these questions at the last election in this State, and we won a triumph that astonished the country and terrified our opponents. We will meet them in the same spirit in our National councils, and we will sweep corruption and usurpation out of the National capitol. We will show that a return to economy, honesty, and constitutional order is demanded alike by the interests of the tax-payer and the public creditor, by the bond-holder and the laborer. This sectional division of our country into debtor and creditor States has caused much anxiety in the minds of thoughtful men, lest it should distract the counsels of our party. While on the one hand the oppressive legislation which burdens the West with high tariffs, together with the fact that the revenues drawn from all sections are mainly paid out to one, excites deep feeling; on the other hand, the bonds so unwisely and wastefully issued, have gone into the hands of innocent holders, who to a vast amount are compulsory owners.

It is a mistake to suppose that they are mostly held by capitalists. Large sums belonging to children and widows, under the order of courts or the action of trustees, have been invested in Government bonds. The vast amounts held by life and fire insurance companies and savings banks, are, in fact, held in trust for and are the reliance of the great body of active business and laboring men or women, or of widows and orphans. The savings banks of this State, which are the depositories of the poor or of persons of limited means, hold about \$60,000,000 of Government bonds. The whole amount held in the State of New York, in the various forms of trust, will not fall below \$200,000,000. If we look into other States, we shall see that only a small share of these bonds are held by men known as capitalists, but they belong, in fact if not in form, to the business, the active and the

laboring members of society. The destruction of these securities would make a widespread ruin and distress, which would reach into every workshop and every home, however humble.

There is a perfect accord in the Democratic ranks as to the policy and the need of honesty and economy, but there is some difference of opinion as to the construction of the contract with the public creditor. Some hold that it is right, and that it is due to the tax-payers that we should save what we can by paying the principal of the debt in currency, but they underrate the force of their own arguments. It is a mistake to suppose that the interests of the bond-holder and the tax-payer are antagonistic. The fact is overlooked, that in order to make any saving by giving the bond-holder a debased or worthless paper, we must bring upon ourselves disaster and dishonor, which will cost a hundred-fold what we can save. It means that we are to give to the laborer for his toil a base currency; it means that the honor of our country shall be stained; it means that our business shall be kept in uncertainty and confusion; it means that the laboring man shall suffer by the increased cost of the comforts of life; it means that the tax-payer shall be burdened by a Government proved to be corrupt and imbecile by this very depreciation of its money. We cannot afford to speculate upon the nation's honor at so fearful a cost. When a dishonored merchant or a corrupt Government wish to make large profit in speculating in their own paper, they must dishonor themselves as much as they can. There is a great gain in this plan, as upheld by Messrs. Butler and Stevens; they not only propose to pay in depreciated paper, but they are doing what they can to dishonor the character and credit of the country. If they carry out their corrupt revolutionary schemes, they will pay off the debt with paper which is not worth ten cents on the dollar. There is no Democrat living who thinks this can be done with safety, or that it is for the interest of the tax-payer at the East or West.

Every Democrat demands a policy of peace, order, and economy, and just so far as he gains that he lifts up the National credit; he helps the tax-payer and does justice to the bond-holder; he makes our currency as good as sterling coin; for that will rise with the public credit. The error is in supposing that under a Democratic Administration the currency would still stand fixed at a discount of one-quarter. To say that, is to say that we are to fail as our opponents have failed. The nation's credit cannot be bought at a profit unless the nation's character is dishonored. If we come into power there will be no discredit on our currency, no speculation in paying our bonds in paper. I thank God that the faith which we all hold as one man, seeks to level up, not to level down. It means that sterling coin shall ring again on the counter of the tradesman, and glitter in the palm of labor, and gladden the heart of the wounded soldier. Our friends forget the force of their own argument. When they show how the debt will be paid, and taxation lightened by economy and honesty, they also show our paper money will be made as good as gold. The downward course of the men in power admits of trafficking in the honor of the country. They can sink it to that point that the payment of the debt will be an easy matter, but it will be at the cost of the honor, the peace and welfare of our land. While, therefore, we may differ as to the construction of the contract with the public cred-

itor, we must not confound the positions of those who think it right to pay in paper, but who battle to make that paper as good as gold, with the position of those who mean not only to pay in paper, but who are also destroying the value of that paper. That is repudiation. We are not trying to give paper to the bond-holders, but gold and silver to the people. There is nothing to fear from those who think by the contract you should take paper, if they take a course which will make that paper as good as gold. There is everything to fear from those who are driving on to bankruptcy, and it matters not what their professions may be.

We appeal to the bond-holder to join with the tax-payers at the East and West in saving our country. We hold no bonds, but in common with you, we want the money wrung from us not squandered in corrupt, treasonable, and revolutionary schemes, but used to pay our debts. Then you will get your dues, and we shall be lightened of our loads. Help us to put men out of power who try to put all the odium of taxation upon you, while they grasp the proceeds; who endanger your claims by putting you in the light of a favored class, not because they give you a better, but the people a worse currency. Help us to wipe out as soon as we can this debt with its unpopular exemptions, lest the men who justify repudiation by States separately, shall also declare for it by their joint action in Congress. If it is possible, you, more than we, are interested in putting an end to the mad career of Congress.

We appeal to those who guard by policies of insurance against the dangers of fire, which may sweep away their property; to those who try by life insurance to make provision for their families when death takes them away; to those who have put their slender earnings into savings banks so that they may have some support in sickness or misfortune—to see if they have not a deep interest in stopping our Government in its career of bankruptcy and dishonor. We implore them to bear in mind that the only security they have for the sacred purposes of their policies and deposits are the bonds of the Government, and those will be worthless if there is not an Administration put in power which will seek to bring back peace, order and economy, and honesty, to our country. We appeal to the bond-holders to help rescue our country from the hands of corrupt and wasteful men. By so doing they will not only best secure their own interests, but will gain the good-will and gratitude of the oppressed laborers and tax-payers.

We are not influenced in our views either by hostility to or regard for the wealthy, but with a sole purpose to do right. For that class of men called capitalists I have no peculiar respect, for they have shown but little respect for themselves. They have never risen up to a sense of the truth that wealth and power carry with them duties and responsibilities. While a British peer of the realm goes to the hustings through scenes of rudeness and violence unknown at our elections, our men of wealth in the city of New York feel they have not enough of character to carry out the duties of citizenship. They labor under a sense of uncertainty of position which must be bolstered up by a careful avoidance of the rougher duties of life. I do not complain that they are not with us, but that they are nowhere when political duty is to be done. Absorbed in their greed for gain they

have, without one manly protest, seen the shipping of their city, which was the pride and glory of our nation, swept from the seas by selfish and sectional legislation. One hour of the honest pride of the grand old commercial cities of Europe would have saved us from this humiliation. I can never forget when a cruel and wicked wrong was done to the poor and laboring classes of their fellow-citizens—to those who swelled their incomes by their toil, these men looked on with cold indifference. When, as Chief Magistrate of this State, I struggled to right the wrong, amidst a storm of abuse and calumny, not one of them even looked to see if there was justice in my charges; nay, most of them, with selfish cowardice, swelled the chorus of defamation. So gross were the outrages of which I complained, that even their authors were forced, by the proof, to let go their hold upon the throats of their victims. In this struggle of poverty against power—for it was against the districts where the poorer classes lived that this cruelty was levelled—there was no word of sympathy or inquiry from the capitalists, who should have shielded the laborers. It gives me great pleasure at this point to do justice to my political opponents. At a time when party passions were envenomed, and personal prejudice against myself were at their height, a Republican Assembly of this State gave me an unanimous vote of thanks for my efforts to correct these errors, when they saw I was in the right and that they had been in the wrong. It was a noble act of courtesy and justice.

I deem it my duty to speak frankly on the subject of the debt. We owe it to our friends in other States to let them know our position, so that we may not fall into the fatal error of making sectional questions a part of our National platform. They would, with justice, reproach us, if we suffered them to hinder us in our battle in this great State, which must be won or our country is lost. We have issues enough with the party in power, upon which we think as one man, to overwhelm it with disgrace and defeat. We must not distract our counsels with questions, however important they may be, upon which there is so much of doubt, and which cannot be settled in many years to come. We must not thus turn away the public mind from the dangers which threaten the immediate destruction of the fabric of our Government and the liberties of our people. Even now the hand of usurpation is stretched out to rob us of all our rights, and it must be struck down first of all. Whatever our views may be, the payment of this debt will fall upon the future. Do what we may, a generation that will come after us will decide its modes without regard to anything that we may say. The depressed industry of our land, its suffering labor, demands that the load of taxation shall be lightened. Our debt is not due until fifteen years from this time. How few of those who now discuss this question will be living then! If, in the meanwhile, our country is well governed, if there is economy in the conduct of its affairs, and the rights and liberties of our people shall be unimpaired, our population will be increased from thirty-five to fifty millions, our wealth will be more than doubled. Then this debt will rest more lightly upon greater numbers and greater wealth, than it presses to-day upon the depressed industry and disheartened spirit of the people.

At our last election in this State, we won a victory which gave new hope to the friends of constitutional order throughout the land.

It gave joy to the hearts of those who seek an honest, honorable administration of public affairs. We won that victory because we lifted our standard high. There came up to uphold our banner the laborer, the tax-payer, and the bond-holder, for they saw that we were battling for economy, for honesty and honor in the conduct of public affairs. They felt that these were demanded by our common interests; that the weight of Government did not grow out of the cost of upholding the honor of the country, but the cost of supporting a dishonest and dishonorable party in power. We deeply regret that our position should be censured in any quarter. But we cannot lower our standard. We will not betray those who came up to its support. It is enough that honor forbids this. Even if we could stoop to aught that is less than honorable, even policy would dictate that this great State should be held firm and steadfast in its position, if we hope to save our country from the dangers that menace it. While it is due to our party and the public to speak plainly upon the financial question which will, for many years to come, perplex and harass the creditor and the tax-payer, I turn from the discussion about the mode of payment at this moment with a degree of impatience. I feel as I should if one with whom I had a long and vexatious litigation upon the terms of an agreement should, in the dead of night, break into my house, rob my treasures, and attempt to fire my home. If, when seized in the act of crime, loaded with plunder, with the tinder and match upon his person which were to kindle the flame, he should coolly propose to stop and discuss the questions under the contract, the indignant answer would be, you are stealing four-fold the amount in controversy; you are trying to destroy a hundred-fold its sum in value by incendiary fire. I will not put myself upon your level in the civil courts; I go against you for burglary and arson; I seize and denounce you as a criminal, and you shall suffer the penalty of violated law.

I go against this Congress for its crimes, and above all for those which it is now perpetrating against the liberties of the people and the sanctity of the judiciary. While we sit here they drag the Chief Magistrate of our country, who has been stripped of rightful power and shackled with humiliating restraints, before a tribunal which decreed his sentence before the charges against him were framed. And what are these charges? He dared, against brutal and indecent statutory insults, to appeal to a judicial tribunal. He dared to do his duty and warn the people against the follies and crimes of their legislators. This Congress has declared that to test its acts in the courts established for that purpose is a crime, and that freedom of speech is a high misdemeanor! When the President entered upon his duties, he took a solemn oath that "to the best of his ability he would preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." For trying to do this according to his conscience he is impeached. If this high officer may not appeal to the courts, if he may not at all times, by speech or writing, warn the people of the dangers which menace their rights and liberties, what protection is there for the humble citizen?

We are not left to inference. Men have been arrested without warrant, have languished or died in prisons, without trial, and in many instances have never known what offences were imputed to them.

The bill is already framed to take away from citizens the appeal to the courts in cases touching their dearest rights. In ten States, military power tramples the judicial under foot. These men mistake the spirit of the people. We defied them when they were backed by a million of armed men. We despise them now as they tremble on the brink of disgrace and defeat. During the past two years they have been active in degrading the Executive and disgracing themselves. They may arraign Mr. Johnson for bringing them into dishonor and public contempt, but their own conduct, not his speeches, brought this shame upon them.

I have no political prejudices in favor of Mr. Johnson. I have never seen him. He is not one I helped to place in office, nor have I ever advised him or been consulted by him as to his policy. I know he has been cheated and betrayed by those about him, who plotted his destruction from the outset. But while he has been most unhappy in his friends, no man has been so fortunate in his enemies. They have given him a high place in history as one who suffered for the rights of the American people. And when he shall go to his final account, and his friends seek in clear, terse, and lasting terms to tell that he was a man who loved his country and was hated by the corrupt and treasonable, they have to chisel upon his tombstone that he was impeached by this House of Representatives and condemned by this Senate.

But Congress seems to have aimed at a dramatic effect, and seeks to excite an interest in this "taking off" like that which attaches to the assassination of crowned heads in darker ages. A stranger entering the halls of the capitol, and who learned there that one was to be deposed because he stood in the way of unlawful ambition or corrupt schemes; as he looked over the assemblage and listened to the debates, would readily pick out those who were to do the dark deed. The face of one would tell his character; muttering about judicial murder would suggest another. A third would be an old man tottering upon the crumbling edge of the grave, whose counsels should be those of peace and charity, but who shocks the world by that saddest of all sights—withered age given over to evil passions, and in its last days muttering profane curses, and showing imbecile malice as it sinks into the grave. In view of the foul ends aimed at by the body that one day is agitated by discordant passions, by mutual reproaches and taunts of crime, and the next is whipped into accord by guilty fears—these are fit instruments. Who more eager than they to gain a decree that it is a crime to appeal to the judiciary they hate and fear? Who so deeply concerned for a decision that freedom of speech is a high misdemeanor as they who are daily galled and stung and tortured by the uttered scorn of a people?

We agree with them that open discussion tends to bring this Congress into public contempt. When the sentence is prejudged the trial will be speedy. No one thinks the solemn mockery means a fair and honest trial. There was a shudder when certain senators solemnly swore to judge impartially. These very forms of procedure which were meant to secure a fair trial, are hideous when used as marks to hide the malice and hate that is impotent to speak the verdict which must not in form go before the trial. They shock us as do palls and shrouds and grave-clothes, which wrap up the body of

dead and decaying justice, while the grave-diggers of the House wait to do their office of putting away the murdered victim. This Congress has by its action opened wide the door for the entrance of many disorganizing schemes; it has given to the future many dangerous precedents, but none so dangerous as this, none so deadly in its tendencies.

But there is another impeachment to be tried before a more august tribunal than the Senate. We arraign this Congress before the people of these United States for its crimes against liberty; against the Union; against the rights of our citizens. We impeach it in the words of our fathers against the British crown in the Declaration of Independence—because it “has rendered the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power”—because it “has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.” We impeach it “for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury,” “for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the powers of our Government;” “for suspending legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate in all cases whatsoever.” Beyond the crimes charged by our fathers against the British crown, we also impeach Congress for its gross and continued violation of the solemn declaration made to the American people and to the world, that it waged war upon the South for the sole purpose of restoring our Union, which Union it now keeps sundered for selfish, party, and corrupt purposes. We also impeach it as an enemy to the liberties of the American people, when it seeks to take away the protection of the judiciary and rob us of the freedom of speech.

There can be no freedom in that country where courts of law are closed from the citizen who seeks protection against unconstitutional statutes. There is no help against tyranny, outrage, or corruption, if there is no appeal to the independent judiciary. “There is no liberty in a land if the power of the judiciary be not separated from the legislative and executive departments.” What then is the condition of our country when in one-third of our States the judiciary is under the feet of the military—that military which our fathers told us must ever be kept in subordination to civil authority. In the grand old republic of Rome, the general who commanded armies was not admitted within the walls of the capitol. A Roman Senate would not let the shadow of military power fall upon the pavements of their city, but an American Senate, with guilty cowardice, clings to the skirts of a victorious general. We warn those who have gained the gratitude of the American people upon the battle-field against soiling their fame by becoming the tools of bad and artful men. There was no braver spirit in the struggle of the Revolution than that of him who won victories by his courage, whose blood sprinkled the field of battle, and who at one time was the idol of a people who now hold his memory in scorn, for he proved a traitor to liberty.

But we must not be content with merely winning a political victory. We must do more. We must fire the hearts of our people with that love of liberty, and fill their mind with a reverence for the judiciary, which animated our fathers, when they engraved upon the

corner-stones of State and National Governments, that the military should ever be kept in subordination to civil authority. It may be asked what motives have this Congress to resort to acts of violence unknown heretofore? The vast increase of patronage has much to do with it; but neither love of power nor greed for gain would make them adopt desperate measures to hold place against the will of the people. The motive for this conduct is fear—the terror of the exposures which must be made when the books are overlooked and the records laid bare. Nothing is so rash as fear. This is the secret of their forcible, desperate hold upon the War Department. There was terror in many bosoms until the Secretary had fortified himself with armed men at his doors. What but fear held in one leash him from Ohio with him of Massachusetts, while they hunted down the President? No man who looks upon them as accusers thinks of aught else than the foul reproaches they have howled against each other of crimes base and horrible, before which all that is charged against him they persecute is light and trivial. Was it decent to couple them together?

No one can have failed to notice that whenever any unusual act of desperation was to be done in Congress, those members resting under imputations of outrage or corruption were active upon the floor. At once were heard the voices of generals stupid on the battle-field and brutal in civil stations—men haunted with guilty fears which could not be quieted down. The struggle is to hold power until time shall wipe out the records of their guilt, or sweep away the witnesses of their crimes. What should be the attitude and action of the Democratic party at this time? No ground must be taken without consultation nor without perfect accord. We are not battling to promote personal views, but to uphold the wisdom of our fathers and to bring back the rule of the Constitution. Our march must be like that of the Macedonian phalanx, with locked shields and measured tread. No man must break from the ranks to push forward from vanity or to drop behind from fear.

When we have gained our victory by boldness and courage, we must use it with patient forbearance, avoiding as far as we can violent changes, and seeking to give the people rest from the uncertainties and imbecility which have harassed them during the past five years. We must lighten taxation by restoring our Union, thus at once cutting down our expenses and putting the South into a condition to aid in bearing our burdens. It is one of the perplexities of bad laws that under them many innocent interests grow up which embarrass the legislator in his efforts to undo the work of unwise men. In such cases there must be patient forbearance until wrongs can be righted, and can be cured without doing injustice to any. Our Saviour teaches us that when evil spirits sow tares among the wheat, for a time the evil and the good must grow together. "Constitutional liberty," in the glowing words of Justice Story, "must perish, if there be not that vital spirit in the people which alone can nourish, sustain, and direct all its movements. It is in vain that statesmen shall form plans of government, in which the beauty and harmony of a republic shall be built upon solid substructure and adorned by every useful ornament, if the inhabitants suffer the silent power of time to dilapidate its walls or crumble its many supporters into dust. If the assaults from with-

out are never resisted, and the rottenness and mining from within are never guarded against, who can preserve the rights and liberties of the people when they shall be abandoned by themselves? Who shall keep watch in the temple when the watchmen sleep at their posts? Who shall call upon the people to redeem their possessions and revive the Republic, when their own hands have deliberately and corruptly surrendered them to the oppressor, and have built the prisons or dug the graves of their own friends?"

Let us, then, appeal to the virtue of our people. I believe that now they ponder by their firesides upon that time when under Democratic rule we had honest officials, economy in affairs, and a currency of sterling coin. I believe their hearts are stirred with indignation at the outrages now perpetrated at Washington. Let us, then, write in letters of gold the words honor, honesty, and economy upon one side of the folds of our flags, and upon the other freedom of speech and an independent judiciary. Then lift our standard high and march on. The path of honor is the path to victory.

Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting at Cooper Institute, New York, June 25, 1868.

General Dissatisfaction with the Conduct of the Congressional Party—Embarrassments to Unity of the Opposition—The Approaching National Convention—Financial Condition of the Country—The Speaker's Position in 1862 and 1863—The same Views re-affirmed—The Democratic Party foresaw Present Troubles—Returns for Taxes, how distributed—Favoritism shown to the Eastern States—Greenbacks a Government Cheat—Where Government Bonds are held—Savings Banks and Life Insurance Companies—Where the Interests of the East and West clash—Conflicting Interests harmonized—A Uniform Currency demanded—How to make Greenbacks as good as Coin—Contraction denounced—Re-establishment of the National Credit urged—The Folly of Inflation illustrated—Waste and Profligacy must give place to Economy in the management of Public Affairs—Expenses of the Government compared with former Years—Save in Expenses and pay off the Debt—This will re-establish Credit—The Negro Question—The Question at Issue in 1868—Republican Policy tends to still greater Increase of Debt—Policy of the Democratic Party.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—We see in every part of our land proofs of a widespread change in political feeling. As the evils of misgovernment unfold themselves, the best men of the Republican party are driven from its ranks. At its late convention, its policy was shaped in a great degree by those who are most violent in their passions and most brutal in the policy they urge upon our people. While the ablest Republicans refuse to go on with a party which tramples upon the judiciary, usurps power, and is unsettling all ideas of political morality, and unhinging all the business machinery of our land, we are laboring

under some embarrassments from the great volume of the change in our favor.

Those who are rallying around the standard of constitutional rights, have heretofore held conflicting views with regard to the events of the past eight years, and the question is, how can we set this great majority in the field so arrayed that they can drive out of place the disciplined and desperate horde of office-holders who now mis-govern our country? This is the only problem to be settled. The American people are disgusted with the conduct of the Congressional party. Can we mark out a policy which will unite the majority under our standard? This can only be done by a thoughtful, forbearing, unselfish course. At the same time we must be outspoken, and must confront all the questions which perplex us.

Men look forward with hope and fear to the action of the National Convention on the fourth of July. I shall not speak of candidates. Let the claims of each one be considered in a courteous and kindly spirit, and let us take care that no personal partisanship shall draw us aside from our duty to our country. We should support, with hearty zeal, every upholder of constitutional rights. It is upon discord in our ranks that our opponents build their hopes. A party born of strife naturally looks to selfish passions to keep it alive. Let this hope be crushed out by our action. It will, in the present state of our country, be an unholy thing to go into the July Convention with any purpose which shall not have in view the rescue of our Government from the men who now have it in hand.

The next election will be controlled by thoughtful business and laboring men. No party can gain their support unless its tone and temper show that it seeks to get our country out of its troubled condition. Appeals to prejudice and passion will have no weight. These were tried at the late Republican Convention. I need not say with what cold indifference they have been received by the public. The quiet, watchful citizens, who seek for the protection of a wise administration of government, now turn their eyes upon us. We must look to it that we take no position which will not bear the closest scrutiny.

The financial condition of our country forces itself upon our attention. Among the evil results of our moneyed and tax policy, the most hurtful is the jealousies it has made between sections of our country. It has divided our Union into debtor and creditor States. It builds up favored interests, and crushes out the industry of other classes. It taxes toil, and lets some forms of wealth go free from the cost of the Government. It gives to labor and business a debased money, and to the untaxed bond-holder sterling coin. These curses upon honest industry have grown up like ill weeds among the sacred interests of contracts, trusts, and the fruits of labor, until we are troubled how to root out the tares sown by evil spirits, without killing the crops planted and tilled by honest industry.

Lest it should be felt that what I have to say on this point springs from any views about the candidates or action of the National Convention, I will go back to the first years of the civil war, when the Democratic party of New York took its position upon the financial policy of Government. In the elections of 1862 it was discussed before our people. We then pointed out the great evils which now

trouble us, as the sure results of the errors of those who were shaping our moneyed system. To show clearly how we then tried to avoid these dangers, let me read some passages from the message of a Democratic Governor to the Legislature, in January, 1863. In his position, he spoke, after a general consultation, for the great party which had just placed him in the executive chair. Positions taken many years ago could have no reference to the personal wishes or purposes of this day.

I will speak of the questions which now agitate our country in the light of the warnings we then uttered. In the convention of 1862, the nominee of the Democratic party of the State of New York, for the office of Governor, used the words:—

"The vast debt growing out of the war will give rise to new and angry discussions. It will be held almost exclusively in a few Atlantic States. Look upon the map of the Union and see how small is the territory in which it will be owned. We are to be divided into creditor and debtor States, and the last will have a vast preponderance of power and strength. Unfortunately there is no taxation upon this National debt, and its share is thrown off upon other property. It is held where many of the Government contracts have been executed, and where, in some instances, gross frauds have been practised. It is held largely where the Constitution gives a disproportionate share of political power."

In his message to the Legislature, in 1863, the Democratic Governor, speaking of the public credit, foreshadowed our dishonored condition at the time in these words:—

"Extravagance and corruption are violations of the faith pledged to the public creditors. The money loaned to the National treasury was not brought forward at a time of peace, but in a time of doubt and danger. These claims are held by the rich and the poor. The amount held by corporations represents the interests of women and children, the aged and infirm. The right of our soldiers to demand integrity is of the most sacred character. A fearful crime will be done by those who suffer National bankruptcy to turn into dust and ashes the pensioners' bounties thus gained at the cost of blood and health and exposure. It is worse that a government should be overturned by corruption than by violence. A virtuous people will regain their rights if torn from them, but there is no hope for those who suffer corruption to sap and rot away the fabric of their freedom."

These are the positions we took years ago, in the darkest hour of the war; these are the positions we hold now, and they cover every question of public and party agitation.

To show the anxiety we felt to avoid all sectional controversies and our sense of the value of intercourse with the Western States, I will quote from the message of the same Democratic Governor in 1864:—

"A deep interest is felt with regard to our commerce with the Western States. Its growing value, and the loss of our trade with the Southern States, make us dependent for commercial prosperity upon that section of our country which sustains our domestic and foreign commerce, and which adds so largely to the imports and business prosperity of the city of New York. This State will be untrue to itself if it fails to control this great source of wealth by a vigorous and generous policy. Rather than suffer its diversion into other channels, we should strike off all tolls upon Western produce. New York should exhibit that degree of interest in all measures designed to benefit the West which will show our purpose to keep up the most intimate commercial relationship with that portion of our Union."

These words are quoted, not because the words of any one man are of consequence, but to show the record of the great party which inspired them. The Democratic party saw the evil in the beginning;

they are the party to cure it. They have always kept our public finances out of confusion, when in power. Years ago we pointed out the wrong done to the West by making them send nearly twice as many soldiers to the war from each congressional war district as were demanded from Vermont or Massachusetts, while the currency given to them under the banking system was not one-quarter as great, although the Western States needed currency the most. The act authorizing the banks of New York to organize under a general banking law was not signed, because the currency was unjustly divided, and because the system made an useless tax upon our people of \$18,000,000 in gold each year.

Thus we tried at an early day to save our country from sectional questions. In vain we warned the East and West against an unwise policy. The East and West upheld the policy of the Administration, and we have now to deal with the results. What are some of them? All of the States are heavily taxed, but some of them get back as much, some more than they pay out, while others get but little. In the case of the heaviest item of expense—the military and naval system—the Western States get nothing back except the cost of Indian war, while large sums are spent at the South. The next heaviest item is the interest on the debt. The West get but a small sum back; most of it is paid to the Northern Atlantic States. The indirect taxes, tariffs, etc., are still more hurtful to the West, as they are practically premiums given to Eastern manufacturers. The division of the favors of Government in distributing banking currency is startling in its injustice. But the most offensive distinction is that of having two kinds of currency. Good money for the bond-holder, and bad money for the laborer, the pensioner, and the business man.

Every paper dollar now put out is a Government falsehood, for it claims to be worth more than its real value, and it goes about the country defrauding the laborer, the pensioner, the mechanic, and the farmer. An indignant chief of one of the tribes from whom we bought land at an early day by a pledge of moneyed annuity, said this Government was a cheat. It got land from the Indians by promising them so many dollars each year, but now it paid them in money which was a lie; which said on its face it was a dollar, when it was but little more than half a dollar. The red man told the simple truth. Of all the devices to cheat honest labor, to paralyze industry, to degrade public morals and to turn business pursuits into reckless gambling, none have been so hurtful as a shifting standard of value, a debased and lying currency.

I have not thus set forth the condition of our country for the purpose of indulging in invective against the party in power, but for another object. Many Republicans who admit the wrong-doing of their leaders, say that we have no plan for the relief of our country; that pointing out wrongs is of no use unless we can point out remedies. This we propose to do, and we probe the ulcers to the quick, because we mean to meet the case and cure the malady.

Among other things which have caused anxiety in the disordered state of our Union is the fact that our Government bonds are mainly held in one section of our country. The labor of the West puts its earnings in a large degree into lands, which are tax-burdened. The labor of the East puts its earnings into savings banks, life assurance,

or in other forms of moneyed investment. Thus they are deeply interested in Government bonds. The amount in savings banks, in this State alone, is \$140,000,000. This shows that there must be at least \$500,000,000 of money thus deposited in all the States. The average of the deposits in 1867, in the State of New York, was \$270. The number of depositors in the State of New York is about five hundred thousand (487,479), and in the city they number more than one-third of the population. This will make the number of depositors in the Union more than one million eight hundred thousand. In the State of Connecticut, in 1865, one-quarter of its population had deposits in savings banks.

It is now usual for men of small property to insure their lives. The number of policies given out by all the life insurance companies, are about four hundred and fifty thousand, and the amount of insurance about one thousand and two hundred and fifty millions. The money invested is held as a sacred trust, as it is a fund laid aside for their families when the insurers die.

All of the funds of savings banks and life insurance companies are not put in Government bonds, but they hold an amount which would cripple or ruin them if the bonds are not paid, or if they are paid in debased paper. If we add the trusts for widows and orphans, we find that full two millions five hundred thousand persons are interested in Government bonds, who are not capitalists, and who are compulsory owners at present prices under the operation of our laws.

There is a fear that this state of things will make a clashing of interests between the labor of the East and the labor of the West. It is clear that our opponents hope that it will hinder us from going into the contest with compact ranks and with one battle-cry. However alarming this aspect may be, I am sure there is a policy to be marked out which will harmonize all jarring interests. It can be shown that the dangers spring from an unwise conduct of public affairs. They have come up like fogs of night from foul fens; they rise from unwholesome, darkened counsels, and will fade away before the light and life of a clear and honest policy.

Is it true that the laborer, the pensioner, the tax-payer and the bond-holder have conflicting interests which will hinder them from acting together in upholding constitutional right?

Why are the tax-payers laboring under a debt which bears an interest of six per cent., while other Governments can borrow money at three per cent., and at this low interest their bonds sell for better prices than ours? Why is the laborer, the farmer, the mechanic and the pensioner paid in bad money, so that they get one-quarter less than they are entitled to on every paper dollar paid to them? Why is the bond-holder wronged by the tainted credit of the Government so that he cannot sell his bond for as much by one-third as the citizen of Great Britain gets for the bond of his Government which bears a lower interest; and why is his claim made odious in the eyes of the people by the fact that his interest is paid in specie, while they are compelled to take debased paper?

It is clear to every thoughtful man that public safety and honor will not admit of our having two kinds of currency for any length of time. We must have a uniform currency for all classes. There is but one question to be settled. Shall our currency be uniformly good

or uniformly bad? Are we to force the bond-holder to take bad money; or are we to give to labor and business good money? Are we to have an honest standard of value for all, or is industry, enterprise, and morality to be perplexed and disordered by a shifting and dishonest standard: If it can be shown that all these evils under which we labor spring from a common source, then it is clear that all classes should join in a common effort to root out the policy which sheds such wide-spread curses.

There are two ways of making our paper money as good as coin. One is to contract its volume by calling in the legal-tenders. This will make them scarce, and will force a specie standard, but it will carry ruin and bankruptcy into every part of our country. It will bear down the prices of property and of labor. It is a policy which cannot be carried through, for the country will not consent to it.

There is another way of lifting up our greenbacks to par which will not harm any, but will help all; which will bring back confidence, will revive business and enterprise, will lighten taxation, will give to labor honest money, and will do justice to the public creditor. And that way is to give to all the world full faith in the honor and wisdom of the American Government.

Our paper money is not at par in coin, because the National credit is dishonored. How can the notes of our Government, which pay no interest, be worth their face in gold or silver, when the bonds of Government which pay six per cent. interest, are worth only eighty cents on the dollar? You cannot make the notes put out by banks worth more than the bonds which secure these notes. It is a sad thing to say that our credit is dishonored in the markets of the world, but it is true, and it must be said, if we are to find a remedy. It is humiliating to find that when Great Britain borrows a thousand dollars for twenty years it pays the lender but \$1,700, when if we make the same loan we have to pay \$2,700 to the lender. If we wish to help the tax-payer, if we wish to get at the cause of debased currency in the hands of the laborer, we must first find out why our credit is dishonored; for it is a tainted credit that sinks alike the value of bonds, of greenbacks, and bank-notes. Make the credit of the United States as good as that of Great Britain, or of a merchant in good standing, or of a mortgage on a farm, and our troubles would disappear.

If we make our paper money good by a harsh system of contraction, we shall cripple the energies of the country, and make bankruptcy and ruin. If, on the other hand, we debase the currency by unwise issues, we shall equally perplex business, and destroy sober industry, and make all prices mere matters of gambling, tricks and chances. This will end as it did in the Southern Confederacy. At the outset the citizens of Richmond went to market with their money in their vest pockets and brought back their dinners in their baskets; in the end they took their money in their baskets and brought home their dinners in their vest pockets. Make our money good by an honest and wise course, and when this is done, it will be worth twenty-five per cent. more than it is now, which will be equal to an increase of one-quarter in the amount of currency. Business will be strengthened, industry will be encouraged, prices will be regular, and men will then dare to go on with useful enterprises.

We find right here the cause of our troubles, perplexities, and

national disgrace. Our credit is tainted. But for that, we could borrow money, as Britain does, at three per cent., and cut down taxation. But for that, our paper money would be good, and gold and silver would glitter in the hands of labor. But for that fact, there would be no question how the bonds are to be paid, and we never should have heard of the greenback issue. But for the National discredit, business men would not be perplexed, and the disquiet and fears which now disturb the public mind would not exist.

Now if this dishonor cannot be helped, we must bear it in the best way we can, and we must get on with the sectional and social and political troubles growing out of it, until time and events shall bring some cure. But if it can be shown to be the work of those in power, then all sections, all classes, and all interests should unite and turn them out.

Fortunately we have official statements to guide us in our inquiries. We take the showing of the very parties under impeachment to show where guilt lies.

To show the waste and profligacy of those in power, let us compare the cost of Government during the four years of peace before 1861, and the four years of peace following the first of July 1865. For the fiscal year ending July 1, 1869, I will take the estimate just made by the Committee of Ways and Means. Bear in mind that this is the best promise the Republicans can make on the eve of a Presidential election. It will prove to be many millions short of what they will spend, but we will give them the benefit of their own statements. After the close of the war, and up to the 1st of July, 1865, the War Department paid \$165,000,000; which is \$75,000,000 more than was spent by the same department in the four years of Mr. Polk's administration, and which included the cost of the Mexican war. It took nearly twice as much to stop a war under Republican policy as it did to carry on a war under Democratic management. But I will not take this \$165,000,000 into the account. Let that close the war.

Since July 1, 1865, about three months after the surrender of Lee, up to July 1, 1868, the cost of Government will be, by official reports and estimates, \$820,390,208. Up to July 1, 1869, by the estimate of the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, it will be \$197,973,366, making the cost of Government for four years \$1,018,363,574. This does not include one cent paid or to be paid for interest or principal of the debt. The cost of Government, during the four years before the war (leaving out interest on debt), was \$256,226,414. This shows that the Republicans have spent in a time of peace four dollars where the Democrats spent one. But the cost of Government grows greater, and we will allow them to spend two dollars where the Democrats spent one. This will make \$512,452,828. But they spent \$505,910,646 beyond this. What did they do with the money? During the four years of Mr. Polk's term, which included the Mexican war, the cost of the War Department was only \$90,540,788.21. We find that the cost of the War Department, taking their own statements and estimates, will be in these four years of peace, \$541,613,619. And this follows an expenditure of more than \$3,000,000,000 during the war.

The cost of the Navy Department in the four years ending July 1, 1869, will be, by Republican statements and estimates, \$117,471,802; and this follows an expenditure of \$314,186,742 during the war.

In the four years before the war the navy cost only \$62,910,534. We then stood in the front rank of commercial powers. Our ships were on every sea and were to be found in every port. American shipping is now by our tariff policy swept from the ocean, but the cost of the navy is nearly doubled.

The year ending July 1, 1868, is the third year of peace. But the War Department cost \$128,858,494, which is more than its cost during the four years of Mr. Polk's term, which covered the expenses of the Mexican war. Not only does one year of peace cost more than four years of war then did, but the third year of peace costs more than the second, for in the year ending July 1, 1867, the War Department spent only \$95,224,415.

In these statements we have given the Republicans the full benefit of their promises for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1869, but we should like to ask a few questions. If \$38,081,013 is enough for the War Department in that year, why and how did you spend \$123,858,490 this year? If \$17,500,000 is enough for the navy in 1869, why did you spend upon it \$43,324,111, in 1866, and \$31,034,011 in 1867? You have not cut down the numbers of the army. Did you waste money this year, or are your statements for next year untrue? We ask Republicans to read the estimates for the future, for they show the profligacy of the past.

If \$500,000,000 of the money paid for military, naval and other expenses had been used to pay the debt, to-day the credit of the United States would have been as good as that of Great Britain. This rapid payment, and the proof it would have given of good faith, would have carried the National credit to the highest point. The bonds would be worth much more in the hands of the holders, and yet the tax-payer would have been better off, for the cost of Government would be cut down as its credit rose. We could put out new bonds, bearing less interest, which would not have the odious exemption from taxation. Our debt would have been less, our interest lower, and our taxes reduced. The hours of labor could be shortened. What now lengthens the time of toil? If we were free from any form of taxation, direct or indirect, six hours of work would earn as much as ten do now. One hour more of work ought to meet a laborer's share of the cost of Government, another hour should pay his share of the National debt. He now works two hours more each day than he ought, to pay for the military and negro policy of Congress, and its corrupt schemes. It has just passed a law that eight hours make a day's labor, while it piles up a load of taxation which forces the laborer to work ten hours or starve.

But the wise and honest use of this \$500,000,000 would not have stopped here. When it carried our bonds to the level of specie value, it should have carried up our currency to the value of specie. The plan of making our currency as good as gold by contracting its volume, carries with it great distress and suffering. But if we lift up its value, by getting rid of the taint upon the National credit, it harms no one, it blesses all. Now our legal-tenders and bank currency must be debased, while our National bonds stand discredited. They must rise and fall together. They are all based upon the National credit. Bank-notes cannot be worth more than the bonds which secure them.

If, then, the \$500,000,000 had been duly and honestly used to pay our debt, to-day the tax-payers would have been relieved, the mechanic, laborer and pensioner would be paid in coin, or money as good as coin, and would not be cheated out of one-quarter of their dues by false dollars.

The holders of bonds in savings banks or life insurance would be better off, as their securities would be safer and worth more. There would be no question how they should be paid, for this question grows out of the follies of those in power, and will disappear when they disappear from the places they now hold. The bond-holder would no longer stand in an odious light. He would not be charged with the taxation which has been used to hurt, not to help, his claim.

If a wise and honest use of the public money would have done this good in the past it will do it in the future. But the Republican party, at Chicago, pledged itself, by its nominations and resolutions, to keep up its negro policy. It is impossible to give untutored Africans at the South uncontrolled power over the Government, the property and laws of the people of ten States, by excluding white votes, without military despotism. You cannot give to three millions of negroes more senators than are allowed to fifteen millions of white men living in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri and Michigan, without keeping up great standing armies. Without a general amnesty, and the restoration of suffrage to all the whites in the South, a great standing army must be a permanent institution.

In order to curse the South with military despotism, negro rule and disorganized labor and industry, they cursed the farmers of the North with taxation, the mechanic with more hours of toil, the laborers and pensioners with debased paper, the merchant with a shifting standard, and the public creditor with a dishonored and tainted National faith. Are these classes to turn and to see how each can push the burdens upon each other, or are they to make common cause and do away with the curses of a bad government? If the Republican policy prevails, this struggle must begin. Either the laborer or the capitalist must go down. Both cannot live under it, and men must choose between. If, on the other hand, the policy of selfish ambition and of sectional hate is put down, our country will start upon a new course of prosperity, and all classes will reap in common the fruits of good government.

The next election will turn upon this question: Can the Congressional party succeed in their efforts to excite and array the industrial and moneyed interests against each other, or will these unite and turn out the authors of the mischief under which they are all suffering? The only hope of our opponents is discord where there should be harmony and concert of action.

In our State, at the last election, we appealed to all classes to help us save New York from misgovernment, and all came up to the rescue, and we made a change of seventy thousand. Let us again appeal to all classes of interests throughout the Union; let us go before the people with these facts, and we will make a change which will sweep the wrong-doers from their places.

We say to the bond-holders and to the laborer who has put his

money into savings bank: We do not wish to harm you, we do not seek to give you bad money, but to get a good currency for all. It will not help us to break down the credit of your bonds; it hurts us; it keeps up our taxes by making us pay high interest; but we ask you to help save us as tax-payers from the cost of the negro and military policy at the South. It is hard for us to pay you if you let men in power take the money we give in taxes to reduce your claims and use it to uphold military despotism. We see clearly that a state of affairs which will compel you to take a debased currency will force every laborer, farmer, mechanic and creditor to take a debased currency as well. If your claims were all wiped out to-morrow by an issue of greenbacks, it would not relieve the fear of patriots; labor would still be cheated by false dollars, our standard of value would still be shifting. Taxation would be kept up by the reconstruction policy, for it is despotism more than debt that makes taxation so heavy. Nothing would be settled. The judiciary would still be trampled under foot, the Executive would still be manacled so that it could not punish crime nor protect innocence. But strike down the congressional policy, and all will be set right.

Since the war closed, in 1865, the Government has spent for its expenses, in addition to payments on principal or interest of the public debt, the sum of more than one thousand millions of dollars.

Of this sum there has been spent nearly \$800,000,000 on the army and navy, and for military purposes. This is nearly one-third of the National debt. This was spent in the time of peace. The cost of our navy before the war was about \$13,000,000 each year. Since the war, when our shipping has been swept from the ocean by taxation, the annual average cost has been \$30,000,000, although we have now no carrying-trade to protect.

While money is thus wasted without scruple upon the army and navy, if any aid is sought to lessen the cost of transportation for the farmers of the West, or to cheapen food for the laborers of the East, we are at once treated with congressional speeches upon the virtues of economy.

If from this amount there had been saved and paid upon the debt the sum of \$500,000,000, how changed would our condition have been. With this payment, which would have cut down the debt to about \$2,000,000,000, our credit would at least have been as good as that of Great Britain. It is because we did not thus apply this money to this purpose, but spent it upon the negro policy, the military despotisms, and other abuses of Government, that our credit is so low. The world saw we were violating our faith with the public creditors and the tax-payers alike, when the money was used for the partisan purposes of keeping the South out of the Union until sham governments could be manufactured by military violence and congressional action. The world not only saw this monstrous perversion of the money wrung from the people by taxation, but it also saw that it made, through a long series of years, still greater annual expenses unavoidable. When the entire control of the Southern States is given over, unchecked by the intelligence of the white race, to untutored negroes, who the people of the North have said were unfit to be voters; when the unfortunate Africans, drunk with unusual power, and goaded on by bad and designing men, shall make life and property unsafe, and shall

shock and disgust the world with outrages, we shall be forced to raise and pay still greater armies.

Up to this time the South has had at least an intelligent tyranny in military officers. Every man who is not blinded by hate or bigotry, looks forward with horror to the condition of the South under negro domination. The bad faith to the public creditor and tax-payer in thus unsettling our Union, of keeping the South in a condition where it cannot help the National prosperity, but is made a heavy load upon the country, is the real cause of our debased credit. The tax-payer was told the burdens put upon him were to pay the debt; but the money was not used in good faith to him, for the debt still stands; nor in good faith to the creditor, for he was not paid what he should have been; but it was used in a way which harmed both, in a way that tainted a nation's credit, kept up taxation by keeping up the rate of interest, while it sank the value of the bonds, and with them carried down the paper currency, and thus wronged the laborer and pensioner.

But for the policy of bad faith, of partisan purposes, of mad folly, we could to-day borrow money as cheaply as Great Britain; but we have cursed the tax-payers, the laborer, the pensioner, the public creditor, for the sake of cursing the people of the South with military despotism and negro domination. Every one must see, if we had paid off one-fifth of our debt, had kept down the cost of Government, had given peace to our Union, had built up industry and good order in the South, not one of the evils which now afflict us could have existed. Our whole condition would have been changed.

We demand that our currency shall be made as good as gold, not by contracting the amount, but by contracting the expenses of Government. We are against measures which will pull down business credit, and call for those which shall lift up the National credit. When we stop the waste which forces us to pay a usury of ten per cent., and take a course which will enable us to borrow money upon the rates paid by other nations, we shall add to the dignity and power of our Union. When we give value to our bonds by using the money drawn by taxation to the payment of our debt, and not to the military and negro schemes, we shall relieve the tax-payer, the bill-holder, and give strength and value to the claims of the public creditor.

We have seen the mischief wrought out by the policy of the past three years. It will be as hurtful in the future as it has been in the past. Yet the Republican party has approved it, and is pledged to it.

We have shown how the policy of using our money to pay our debts would have helped us in the past. It will do the same for us in the future. To that policy we are pledged. There is not one man of our party in this broad land who doubts upon this point. It was never charged that a single Democrat in these United States ever favored the military and negro policy upon which the credit of the country has been wrecked. Our remedy is to use the public money to pay the public debt. It is a simple, brief, but a certain remedy for our National malady. Our ailment is debt, aggravated by despotism.

In another way the Republicans do a constant wrong to the bond-holders. In answer to complaints of heavy taxation, they say it cannot be helped with our heavy debt, and thus throw the whole odium on the debt. Why do they not tell the truth, and say one-third of

our taxation is made by our debt? Then they will be asked, what makes the two-thirds? This question they do not want to have asked, and they do not want to answer. When they do answer, the eyes of all classes will be opened. They will be forced to say that last year they spent, by reports of the Committee of Ways and Means, \$379,178,066.83, and this in the third year of peace. Well, says our well-meaning Republican friends, we suppose the interest of the debt took most of it. Oh, no; that took \$149,418,383.87, not quite as much as was spent by the War and Navy Departments, which was \$149,472,165.35; and besides this, we spent \$80,292,513.14 for other things. Why, that is \$20,000,000 more than the Democrats spent for army and navy, and all the expenses of Government put together! But why do you spend \$25,613,673.53 on the navy, when it formerly cost \$12,000,000 annually? Has American shipping grown so much that we have to keep up vast navies to protect it? Oh, no; our tariffs have swept American ships from the ocean; we have lost the carrying-trade; the British have got that. Then, why don't you give the builders of merchant ships the money spent on the navy, by way of drawback on duties? Would that start work at our ship-yards? Oh, yes; half the cost would do it. Then, why is it not done? We did not think of it; really, we have been so busy with the impeachment and negro questions, that we forgot our sailors and mechanics. But we see that the War Department spent \$128,858,466, when the year before it spent only about \$95,000,000. The longer we have peace the more the army costs. How is this? Well, it costs a great deal to keep soldiers and Freedmen's Bureau agents, and to feed and clothe negroes at the South. But why do you do it? Let the negroes support themselves, as we do. You make the laborers of the North work to feed and clothe these idle Africans. True; but by so doing we get their votes, and they will send our travelling agents to Congress; we shall get twenty Senators in this way, while a majority of the people of the United States, living in nine States, have only eighteen. The people may vote as they please, but they cannot get the Senate, nor repeal any of the laws we got through for our advantage; we have managed it so that one-quarter of the people have more power in the Senate than the three-quarters. We now own the negroes of the South. Did we not buy them by your blood and money?

We now see where the money goes; we now see why the credit of our country is so tainted; we now see why the value of our paper money is sinking. It was only at 21 per cent. discount in 1866, it is now at a discount of about 29 per cent.; we now see why our laborers and pensioners are cheated by false dollars. If the mechanic cares to know why he works so many hours, let him study the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury. It is clear why business is hindered and business men perplexed. We now know why the public creditor is harassed by our dishonored credit, and the tax-payer is hunted down by the tax-gatherer. The negro military policy of the Republican party is at the bottom of all these troubles.

We now get at the real issues between parties. The Republicans, by their nominations and resolutions, are pledged to keep up the negro and military policy, with all its cost and taxations. These will be greater hereafter. The government of the South is to go into the

hands of the negroes. We have said they are unfit to be voters at the North. The Republicans say they shall be governors at the South. We are clearly opposed to this policy. We have seen how much it has cost the tax-payer, the bond-holder, and the laborer in the past three years. It will be as hurtful in the future. We have also seen how our policy of using the money to pay our debts would have helped the tax-payer, the bond-holder, and the laborer in the past. It will do as much in the future.

The whole question is brought down to this clear point: Shall we use our money to pay our debts, relieve the tax-payer, make our money good in the hand of the laborer or pensioner, and help the bond-holder? or shall we use it to keep up military despotism, feed idle negroes, break down the judiciary, shackle the Executive, and destroy all constitutional rights?

I have said nothing in behalf of, or against, the views of any one who is spoken of as a candidate for the Presidency on the Democratic side. I have said only what each one agrees to and is in favor of. No man has been named who is not in favor of making our paper as good as gold. No man has been named who is not in favor of cutting down military expenses. No man has been named who is not in favor of using the money drawn from the tax-payers to pay the public debt. No man has been named who is not in favor of a general amnesty to the people of the South. No man has been named who is not an upholder of constitutional rights. No man has been named by the Democratic party whose election would not help the tax-payer, the pensioner, the laborer, and the bond-holder. On the other hand, the candidates of the Republican party are pledged to their past policy, which has sunk the value of our currency more than eight per cent. in the past two years. The discount upon our paper money was twenty per cent. in April, 1866; it is now about twenty-nine per cent. It will continue to go down under the same policy. As it sinks it will increase taxes, it will curse all labor and business it will endanger still more the public credit, for the greater the premium on gold, the harder it becomes to pay specie to the bond-holder, and his claims become more odious.

What claim have the Republicans upon our soldiers? They take away from him one-quarter of his pension, by paying him in false money, which is worth less than seventy-five cents on the dollar. A wise and honest Administration would have made it worth its face in gold. What right have they to call upon the mechanic and laborer? They have lengthened out the hours of their toil to feed swarms of office-holders at the North, and to support armies and hordes of negroes at the South. How can they look the tax-payers in the face, when they have wrung from them so many millions upon the pretext that the debt compelled them to do so, while they were using the money thus collected to support standing armies and to trample upon the rights and liberties of the American people? Can they, with decency, appeal to the bond-holder, after tainting the National credit, and sinking it to the level of that of the Turks, and endangering their securities, by throwing upon them the whole odium of taxation? Then let the East and West, the North and the South, the soldier, the toiler in ships or in fields, the tax-payer, and the bond-holder, by one united effort, drive from power the common enemies of liberty, honesty, honor, rights, and constitutional laws.

Governor Seymour's Speech on taking the Chair as Permanent President of the Democratic National Convention, July 6, 1868.

Duties of Presiding Officer—Responsibilities of the Occasion—Patriotic Purposes of the Gathering—Review of the Republican Platform—Repudiation—Alleged Injustice to Soldiers and Sailors—Immigration—Alleged disregard of the Constitution by the Republican Party—The Republican Nominee—An Appeal for Unity of Action—Analogy between the Present Meeting and the Inauguration of Washington—The Gathering of Soldiers and Sailors.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I thank you for the honor you have done me in making me your presiding officer. This Convention is made up of a large number of delegates from all parts of our broad land. To a great degree we are strangers to each other, and view the subjects which agitate our country from different stand-points. We cannot at once learn each other's mode of thought, or grasp all the facts which bear upon the minds of others; yet our session must be brief, and we are forced to act without delay upon questions of an exciting character, and of deep import to our country. To maintain order, to restrain all exhibition of passion, to drive out of our minds all unkind suspicions, is at this time a great duty. I rely upon your sense of this duty, and not upon my own ability, to sustain me in the station in which I am placed by your kind partiality.

Men never met under greater responsibilities than those which now weigh upon us. It is not a mere party triumph we seek. We are trying to save our country from the dangers which overhang it. We wish to lift off the perplexities and the shackles which, in the shape of bad laws and of crushing taxation, now paralyze the business and labor of our land. We hope, too, that we can give order, prosperity, and happiness to those sections of our country which suffer so deeply to-day in their homes and in all the fields of their industry, from the unhappy events of the last eight years. I trust actions will show that we are governed by earnest purposes to help all classes of our citizens. Avoiding harsh invective against men, we should keep the public mind fixed upon the questions which must now be met and solved. Let us leave the past to the calm judgment of the future, and confront the perils of the day.

We are forced to meet the assertions in the resolutions put forth by the late Republican Convention. I aver there is not in this body one man who has it in his heart to excite so much of angry feeling against the Republican party as must be stirred up in the minds of those who read these declarations in the light of recent events and in view of the condition of our country. In the first place, they congratulate the perplexed man of business, the burdened tax-payer, the laborer whose hours of toil are lengthened out by the growing costs of the necessities of life, upon the success of that reconstruction policy which has brought all these evils upon them by the cost of its military despotism and the corruption of its bureau agencies. In one resolution they denounce all forms of repudiation as a National crime; then

why did they put upon the statute books of the nation the laws which invite the citizens who borrow coin to force their creditors to take debased paper, and thus wrong him out of a large share of his claim, in violation of the most solemn compact?

If repudiation is a National crime, it is a crime to invite all citizens of this country thus to repudiate their individual promises. Was it not a crime to force the creditors of this and other States to take a currency at times worth no more than forty cents on the dollar, in repayment for the sterling coin they gave to build roads and canals, which yield such ample returns of wealth and prosperity?

Again, they say it is due to the laborers of the nation that taxation should be equalized. Then why did they make taxation unequal? Beyond the injustice of making one class of citizens pay for another's share of the cost of schools, of roads, and of the local laws which protected their lives and property, it was an unwise and hurtful thing. It sunk the credit of the country, as unusual terms, always hurtful to the credit of the borrower, do.

They also declare the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is so to improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial, total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected. Then why have they used full \$500,000,000 of the taxes drawn from the people of this country to uphold a despotic military authority, and to crush out the life of the States, when, if this money had been used to pay our debts, capitalists would now seek to lend us money at lower rates of interest? But for this covert repudiation our National credit would not be tainted in the markets of the world.

Again, they declare, of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the laws are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred trust bequeathed to the nation's care. How have these sacred trusts been performed? They pay to the maimed man, to the widow, or to the orphan, a currency which they have sunk one-quarter below its rightful value, by their policy of hate, of waste, and of military despotisms; the pittance paid to the wounded soldier is pinched down twenty-five per cent. below the value of that coin which he had a right to expect. Is there no covert repudiation in this?

Again, they say, foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this Republic—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy. Is this foreign immigration fostered by a policy which, in cruel mockery of laws just passed declaring eight hours to be a legal day's labor, by the cost of Government and of swarms of officials, so swells the cost of living, that men must toil on to meet the exactions? The time was when we could not only invite Europeans to share with us the material blessings of our great country, but, more than that, we could tell those who fled from oppression, that we lived under a Government of laws administered by the judiciary, which kept the bayo-

net and the sword in due subordination. We could point to a written Constitution, which not only marked out the powers of Government, but with anxious care secured to the humblest man the rights of property, of person, and of conscience. Is immigration encouraged by trampling that Constitution in the dust—treating it with contempt—shackling the judiciary—insulting the Executive—and giving all the world to understand that the great guarantees of political and social rights are destroyed?

But the crowning indictment against the follies and crimes of those in power is in these words:—

“That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of Democratic government, and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.”

If within the limits of ten States of this Union an American citizen, stung by a sense of his wrongs, should publicly and truthfully denounce the men in power, because, in the very language of this Declaration of Independence, they have erected a multitude of new offices, and sent thither a swarm of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance, he would, in all human probability, be dragged to a prison; or if, in the indignant language of our fathers, he should exclaim, “They have affected to render the military independent of or superior to the civil power, they have abolished the free system of English laws, and established here an arbitrary Government,” for the offence of asserting these principles he would be tried and punished by a military tribunal.

Having declared that the principles of the Declaration of Independence should be made a “living reality on every inch of American soil,” they put in nomination a military chieftain who stands at the head of that system of despotisms that crushed beneath its feet the greatest principle of the Declaration of Independence.

To-day, in some States, it is held by military orders to be a crime to speak out the indignation and contempt which burn within the bosoms of patriotic men. If to-morrow a military order should be put forth in that State where the ashes of Washington are entombed, that it should be an offence to declare that the military should ever be subordinate to the civil authority, to speak out the sentiment that it was a disgrace to our country to let hordes of officials eat up the substance of the people, he who uttered these words could be dragged to prison from the very grave where lie the remains of the author of the Declaration of Independence. From this outrage there could be no appeal to the courts, and the Republican candidate for the Presidency has accepted a position which makes the rights and liberties of a large share of our people dependent upon his will.

In view of these things, can there be one man in this Convention who can let a personal ambition, a passion, a prejudice, turn him aside one hair-breadth in his efforts to wipe off the wrongs and outrages which disgrace our country? Can there be one man whose heart is so dead to all that is great and noble in patriotism, that he will not gladly sacrifice all other things for the sake of his country, its liberties, and its greatness? Can we suffer any prejudices growing out of past differences of opinion to hinder us uniting now with all

who will act with us to save our country? We meet to-day to see what measures can be taken to avert the dangers which threaten our country, and to relieve it from the evils and burdens resulting from bad government and unwise counsels.

I thank God that the strife of arms has ceased, and that once more in the great conventions of our party we can call through the whole roll of States, and find men to answer to each. Time and events in the great cycles have brought us to this spot to renew and reinvigorate that constitutional government which nearly eighty years ago was inaugurated in this city. It was here that George Washington, the first President, swore to "preserve, protect and defend" the Constitution of these United States. And here this day we as solemnly pledge ourselves to uphold the rights and liberties of the American people. Then, as now, a great war which had desolated our land had ceased. Then, as now, there was in every patriotic breast a longing for the blessings of good government, for the protection of laws, and for sentiments of fraternal regard and affection among the inhabitants of all the States of this Union. When our Government, in 1789, was inaugurated in this city, there were glad processions of men, and those manifestations of great joy which a people show when they feel that an event has happened which is to give lasting blessings to the land. To-day, in this same spirit, this vast assemblage meets, and the streets of this city are thronged with men who have come from the utmost borders of our continent. They are filled with the hope that we are about, by our actions and our policy, to bring back the blessings of good government.

It is among the happiest omens which inspire us now, that those who fought bravely in our late civil war are foremost in their demands that there shall be peace in our land. The passions of hate and malice may linger in meaner breasts, but we find ourselves upheld in our generous purposes by those who showed true courage and manhood on the fields of battle.

In the spirit, then, of George Washington, and of the patriots of the Revolution, let us take the steps to reinaugurate our Government, to start it once again on its course to greatness and prosperity. May Almighty God give us the wisdom to carry out our purposes to give every State of our Union the blessings of peace, good order, and fraternal affection.



Governor Seymour's Opposition to becoming the Democratic Candidate for President in 1868.

LETTER TO THE ONEIDA DEMOCEATIC UNION.

UTICA, Nov. 25, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DEMOCEATIC UNION, Oneida:—Sir—I see that you have put my name at the head of your paper as a candidate for the office of President of the United States. Other journals in

this, as well as in the Eastern and Western States, have also thus expressed their wishes for my nomination by the Democratic National Convention. These marks of good-will and confidence give me great pleasure, but I am compelled to say that I am not and cannot be a candidate for the Presidency. As my reasons for saying this are personal, it is not necessary to state them. They in no degree grow out of a waning interest in the great and serious questions which divide parties in this country. On the other hand, I feel that we are about to enter upon an earnest and thoughtful discussion of the condition of public affairs. The passions and prejudices excited by civil war are dying out. All now see that questions of finance, tariff, the rights of States, and the powers of Government, cannot be settled by clamor and calumnies. Both parties feel that the grave problems growing out of the disordered state of the country must be confronted, and that due respect for their great organizations demands an earnest and thoughtful inquiry as to the best modes of lightening the load of debt and taxation which hinder the business of our land, and weigh down with heavy shackles the arms of labor. In trying in the future, as I have in the past, to uphold principles which I deem to be right, I can do battle with more vigor when I am not a candidate for official position.

Very truly yours, &c.,
HORATIO SEYMOUR.

LETTER TO A CITIZEN OF ONONDAGA COUNTY.

UTICA, January 22, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have been ill—too ill to answer your letter of the 12th inst. until now.

I assure you I am not a candidate for the office of President. In my letter, I said what I meant; and I am annoyed to find it is looked upon by some as a strategic movement. I have had a large number of letters from leading men in the North-West. I have written to them that my name would never go before the National Convention. I am very much gratified that my friends are willing to support me for the office of President—as much pleased as if I wished the office. I do not know when I can go to Albany, but have told all my friends there my purposes, whenever I could do so without exposing myself to the imputation of declining what might be beyond my reach.

Truly yours,
HORATIO SEYMOUR.

[The above appeared in the *Syracuse Courier and Union*, without the name of the person to whom addressed.]

REMARKS AT A CAUCUS OF THE NEW YORK DELEGATION TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, JULY 2, 1868.

(*From Report in N. Y. World, July 3, 1868.*)

Mr. Handenburg, of Ulster, moved that the delegation from this State present Horatio Seymour as their candidate, and urged other States to cast their votes for him.

This, as a matter of course, brought out Mr. Seymour, who said that, his name having been used by two of his friends, he could not longer remain silent. What he had written and spoken many weeks since, from a sense of duty, he must now repeat from a sense of honor. It was due, therefore, to himself, to his consistency, and to friends who had asked his opinion, to say that he was not a candidate for the office of President of the United States. It was the highest office in the land, and a place far above his merits and beyond his aspirations. Its importance no man could over-estimate, but he did not seek it, was not a candidate for it, and when friends had pressed his name, he felt called upon to decline its use. After what had occurred elsewhere, therefore, upon this subject, to allow his name to be presented in a delegation of which he was a part, though by friends too partial to him, but whose kindness he appreciated, did not seem to him to be right. Private honor now, as well as former inclination, compelled him to say that his name must not be pressed by his friends.

REMARKS IN NATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE FIRST PRESENTATION
OF HIS NAME, JULY 7, 1868.

(From the Associated Press Report.)

When the State of North Carolina was called, the chairman of the delegation said: "Nine votes for Horatio Seymour."

Loud and enthusiastic cheering, participated in by the galleries.

Mr. Tilden. Mr. President, I shall give notice if there is any cheering in the galleries in respect to the candidates whose names are mentioned here, that I shall move to clear the galleries.

Mr. Richardson (Illinois). I move to clear them now.

A Delegate from Michigan. I suggest to the gentleman from Illinois (Richardson), that the intimation is sufficient if he will withdraw his motion.

Mr. Richardson. Certainly, I will withdraw the motion.

The President (Mr. Seymour). I trust I may be permitted now to make a single remark. Very much to my surprise my name has been mentioned. I must not be nominated by this Convention, as I could not accept the nomination if tendered, which I do not expect. My own inclinations prompted me to decline at the outset; my honor compels me to do so now. I am grateful for any expression of kindness. It must be distinctly understood, it is impossible, consistently with my position, to allow my name to be mentioned in this Convention against my protest. The clerk will proceed with the call.

REMARKS IN NATIONAL CONVENTION PENDING THE NOMINATION,
JULY 9, 1868.

The motion just made by the gentleman from Ohio, excites in my mind the most mingled emotions. I have no terms in which to express my gratitude for the magnanimity of his State, and for the generosity of this Convention. I have no terms in which to tell of my regret that my name has been brought before this Convention. God knows that my life, and all that I value most in life, I would give for the good of my country, which I believe to be identified with our own

party. I do not stand here as a man proud of his opinions, or obstinate in his purposes, but upon a question of duty, of honor, I must stand upon my own convictions against the world.

Gentlemen, when I said here, at an early day, that honor forbade my accepting a nomination by this Convention, I meant it. When, in the course of my intercourse with those of my own delegation and my friends, I said to them that I could not be a candidate, I meant it. And now permit me here to say that I know, after all that has taken place, I could not receive the nomination without placing, not only myself, but the great Democratic party, in a false position.

But, gentlemen of the Convention, more than that, we have had to-day an exhibition from the distinguished citizen of Ohio, that has touched my heart as it has touched yours. I thank God, and I congratulate this country, that there is in the great State of Ohio, whose magnificent position gives it so great a control over the action of our country, a young man rising fast in the estimation of his countrymen, and whose future is all glorious, who has told the world that he could tread beneath his feet every other consideration than that of duty; and when he expressed to his delegation, and expressed in more direct terms, that he was willing that I should be nominated, who stood in such a position of marked opposition to his own nomination, I should feel a dishonored man if I could not tread in the far distance, and in a feeble way, the same honorable pathway which he has marked out.

Gentlemen, I thank you, and may God bless you for your kindness to me; but your candidate I cannot be.

Governor Seymour's Acceptance of the Nomination of the National Democratic Convention for President of the United States.

SPEECHES AT TAMMANY HALL, NEW YORK, JULY 10, 1868.

[The nomination was presented to Governor Seymour, by the committee appointed for that purpose, at a mass assemblage at Tammany Hall, Friday evening, July 10, when the candidate made the following remarks in response.—EDITORS.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:—I thank you for the courteous terms in which you have communicated to me the action of the Democratic National Convention. I have no words adequate to express my gratitude for the good-will and kindness which that body has shown to me. Its nomination was unsought, and unexpected. It was my ambition to take an active part, from which I am now excluded, in the great struggle going on for the restoration of good government, of peace and prosperity to our country. But I have been caught up by the whelming tide that is bearing us on to a great political change, and I find myself unable to resist its pressure.

You have also given to me a copy of the resolutions put forth by the Convention, showing its position upon all the great questions which now agitate the country. As the presiding officer of that Conven-

tion, I am familiar with their scope and import, and as one of its members I am a party to their terms; they are in accord with my views, and I stand upon them in the contest upon which we are now entering; and I shall strive to carry them out in future wherever I may be placed in public or private life.

I congratulate you, and all conservative men who seek to restore order, peace, prosperity, and good government to our land, upon the evidences everywhere shown, that we are to triumph at the next election.

Those who are politically opposed to us, flattered themselves there would be discord in our councils; they mistook the uncertainties of our views as to the best methods of carrying out our purposes for difference of opinion with regard to those purposes. They mistook an intense anxiety to do no act which should not be wise and judicious for a spirit of discord; but during the lengthened proceedings and earnest discussions of the Convention there has prevailed an entire harmony of intercourse, a patient forbearance, and a self-sacrificing spirit, which are the sure tokens of a coming victory.

Accept for yourselves, gentlemen, my wishes for your future welfare and happiness. In a few days I will answer the communication you have just handed me by letter, as is the customary form.

[Immediately after Governor Seymour addressed the people outside the hall as follows:]

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I thank you for this kind reception. I am unable, with my broken voice and exhausted frame, to do more than to return you my sincere thanks for the compliment which you now pay me. May God bless you, and may He bless our country, and may He give us in the pending contest that triumph which will tend to secure constitutional law, good order, peace and prosperity to our land. I can say no more but to bid you good-night, and once more to thank you for your kindness to me.

LETTER FORMALLY ACCEPTING THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

Thanks for the Honor conferred—Inability to resist the Pressure—Familiarity with and approval of the Platform—Reasons for delay in Writing—Congress anticipating a change in Political Power—Concealment of the Financial Condition of the Country—Congress allied with Military Power to control Elections—Partisan Character of all its Acts—Many able Republican Leaders and Journals openly deplore the Violence of Congressional Action—Results of that Action—New Elements of Discord—Southern Republican Representation considered—Their Interests prompt to a continuance of Disorder and Anarchy at the South—Peaceful Purposes and Conduct of the Chiefs of the late Rebellion—Importance of a Democratic Victory—Opposition essential to a healthy Government—Moderate Republicans driven off by Extreme Men—Advantages of a Division of Political Power—The Executive Office one of Care and Toil—Its Duties and Requirements—Enthusiasm with which the Action of the Convention is hailed—Purposes of the Democratic Party.

UTICA, August 4, 1868.

GENTLEMEN:—When, in the city of New York, on the 11th of July, in the presence of a vast multitude, on behalf of the National Demo-

cratic Convention, you tendered to me its unanimous nomination as their candidate for the office of President of the United States, I stated I had "no words adequate to express my gratitude for the good-will and kindness which that body had shown to me. Its nomination was unsought and unexpected. It was my ambition to take an active part, from which I am now excluded, in the great struggle going on for the restoration of good government, of peace and prosperity to our country. But I have been caught up by the whelming tide which is bearing us on to a great political change, and I find myself unable to resist its pressure.

"You have also given to me a copy of the resolutions put forth by the Convention, showing its position upon all the great questions which now agitate the country. As the presiding officer of that Convention, I am familiar with their scope and import; as one of its members, I am a party to their terms. They are in accord with my views, and I stand upon them in the contest upon which we are now entering, and I shall strive to carry them out in future, wherever I may be placed, in public or private life."

I then stated that I would send you these words of acceptance in a letter, as is the customary form. I see no reason, upon reflection, to change or qualify the terms of my approval of the resolutions of the Convention.

I have delayed the more formal act of communicating to you in writing what I thus publicly said, for the purpose of seeing what light the action of Congress would throw upon the interests of the country. Its acts since the adjournment of the Convention show an alarm lest a change of political power will give to the people what they ought to have, a clear statement of what has been done with the money drawn from them during the past eight years. Thoughtful men feel that there have been wrongs in the financial management which have been kept from the public knowledge.

The congressional party has not only allied itself with military power, which is to be brought to bear directly upon the elections in many States, but it also holds itself in perpetual session, with the avowed purpose of making such laws as it shall see fit, in view of the elections which will take place within a few weeks. It did not, therefore, adjourn, but took a recess, to meet again if its partisan interests shall demand its reassembling.

Never before in the history of our country has Congress thus taken a menacing attitude toward its electors. Under its influence some of the States organized by its agents are proposing to deprive the people of the right to vote for Presidential electors, and the first bold steps are taken to destroy the rights of suffrage. It is not strange, therefore, that thoughtful men see in such action the proof that there is, with those who shape the policy of the Republican party, motives stronger and deeper than the mere wish to hold political power; that there is a dread of some exposure which drives them on to acts so desperate and so impolitic.

Many of the ablest leaders and journals of the Republican party have openly deplored the violence of congressional action, and its tendency to keep up discord in our country. The great interests of our Union demand peace, order, and a return to those industrial pursuits without which we cannot maintain the faith or honor of our

Government. The minds of business men are perplexed by uncertainties. The hours of toil of our laborers are lengthened by the costs of living made by the direct and indirect exactions of Government. Our people are harassed by the heavy and frequent demands of the tax-gatherer.

Without distinction of party, there is a strong feeling in favor of that line of action which shall restore order and confidence, and shall lift off the burdens which now hinder and vex the industry of the country. Yet at this moment those in power have thrown into the senate chamber and congressional hall new elements of discord and violence. Men have been admitted as representatives of some of the Southern States, with the declaration upon their lips that they cannot live in the States they claim to represent without military protection.

These men are to make laws for the North as well as the South. These men, who, a few days since, were seeking as suppliants that Congress would give them power within their respective States, are to-day the masters and controllers of the actions of those bodies. Entering them with minds filled with passions, their first demands have been that Congress shall look upon the States from which they come as in conditions of civil war; that the majority of their populations, embracing their intelligence, shall be treated as public enemies; that military forces shall be kept up at the cost of the people of the North, and that there shall be no peace and order at the South save that which is made by arbitrary power.

Every intelligent man knows that these men owe their seats in Congress to the disorder in the South; every man knows that they not only owe their present positions to disorder, but that every motive springing from the love of power, of gain, of a desire for vengeance, prompts them to keep the South in anarchy. While that exists, they are independent of the wills or wishes of their fellow-citizens. While confusion reigns, they are the dispensers of the profits and the honors which grow out of a government of mere force. These men are now placed in positions where they can not only urge their views of policy, but where they can enforce them.

When others shall be admitted in this manner from the remaining Southern States, although they will have in truth no constituents, they will have more power in the Senate than a majority of the people of this Union living in nine of the great States. In vain the wisest members of the Republican party protested against the policy that led to this result.

While the chiefs of the late rebellion have submitted to the results of the war, and are now quietly engaged in useful pursuits for the support of themselves and their families, and are trying by the force of their example to lead back the people of the South to the order and industry, not only essential to their well-being, but to the greatness and prosperity of our common country, we see that those who, without ability or influence, have been thrown by the agitations of civil convulsion into positions of honor and profit, are striving to keep alive the passions to which they owe their elevation. And they clamorously insist that they are the only friends of our Union—a Union that can only have a sure foundation in fraternal regard, and a common desire to promote the peace, the order, and the happiness of all sections of our land.

Events in Congress since the adjournment of the Convention have vastly increased the importance of a political victory by those who are seeking to bring back economy, simplicity, and justice in the administration of our National affairs. Many Republicans have heretofore clung to their party who have regretted the extremes of violence to which it has run. They have cherished a faith that, while the action of their political friends has been mistaken, their motives have been good. They must now see that the Republican party is in that condition that it cannot carry out a wise and peaceful policy, whatever its motives may be.

It is a misfortune, not only to a country, but to a governing party itself, when its action is unchecked by any form of opposition. It has been the misfortune of the Republican party that the events of the past few years have given it so much power that it has been able to shackle the Executive, to trammel the judiciary, and to carry out the views of the most unwise and violent of its members.

When this state of things exists in any party, it has ever been found that the sober judgments of its ablest leaders do not control. There is hardly an able man who helped to build up the Republican organization who has not within the past three years warned it against its excesses, who has not been borne down and forced to give up his convictions of what the interests of the country called for; or, if too patriotic to do this, who has not been driven from its ranks. If this has been the case heretofore, what will be its action now, with this new infusion of men who, without a decent respect for the views of those who had just given them their positions, begin their legislative career with calls for arms, with demands that their States shall be regarded as in a condition of civil war, and with a declaration that they are ready and anxious to degrade the President of the United States whenever they can persuade or force Congress to bring forward new articles of impeachment?

The Republican party, as well as we, are interested in putting some check upon this violence. It must be clear to every thinking man that a division of political power tends to check the violence of party action, and to assure the peace and good order of society. The election of a Democratic Executive and a majority of Democratic members to the House of Representatives would not give to that party organization the power to make sudden or violent changes, but it would serve to check those extreme measures which have been deplored by the best men of both political organizations. The result would most certainly lead to that peaceful restoration of the Union and re-establishment of fraternal relationship which the country desires. I am sure that the best men of the Republican party deplore as deeply as I do the spirit of violence shown by those recently admitted to seats in Congress from the South. The condition of civil war which they contemplate, must be abhorrent to every right-thinking man.

I have no mere personal wishes which mislead my judgment in regard to the pending election. No man who has weighed and measured the duties of the office of President of the United States can fail to be impressed with the cares and toils of him who is to meet its demands. It is not merely to float with popular currents without a policy or a purpose. On the contrary, while our Constitution gives just weight to the public will, its distinguishing feature is that it

seeks to protect the rights of minorities. Its greatest glory is that it puts restraints upon power. It gives force and form to those maxims and principles of civil liberty for which the martyrs of freedom have struggled through ages. It declares the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses and papers, against unreasonable searches and seizures. That Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances. It secures the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury.

No man can rightly enter upon the duties of the presidential office unless he is not only willing to carry out the wishes of the people expressed in a constitutional way, but is also prepared to stand up for the rights of minorities. He must be ready to uphold the free exercise of religion. He must denounce measures which would wrong personal or home rights, or the religious conscience of the humblest citizen of the land. He must maintain, without distinction of creed or nationality, all the privileges of American citizenship.

The experience of every public man who has been faithful to his trust, teaches him that no one can do the duties of the office of President, unless he is ready, not only to undergo the falsehoods and abuse of the bad, but to suffer from the censure of the good who are misled by prejudices and misrepresentations.

There are no attractions in such positions which deceive my judgment, when I say that a great change is going on in the public mind. The mass of the Republican party are more thoughtful, temperate, and just, than they were during the excitement which attended the progress and close of the civil war.

As the energy of the Democratic party springs from their devotion to their cause and not to their candidates, I may with propriety speak of the fact, that never in the political history of our country has the action of any like body been hailed with such universal and wide-spread enthusiasm, as that which has been shown in relation to the position of the National Democratic Convention. With this the candidates had nothing to do. Had any others of those named been selected, this spirit would have been perhaps more marked. The zeal and energy of the conservative masses spring from a desire to make a change of political policy, and from the confidence that they can carry out their purpose.

In this faith they are strengthened by the co-operation of the great body of those who served in the Union army and navy during the war. Having given nearly sixteen thousand commissions to the officers of that army, I know their views and wishes. They demand the Union for which they fought. The largest meeting of these gallant soldiers which ever assembled was held in New York and indorsed the action of the National Convention. In words instinct with meaning, they called upon the Government to stop in its policy of hate, discord and disunion, and in terms of fervid eloquence they demanded the restoration of the rights and liberties of the American people.

When there is such accord between those who proved themselves brave and self-sacrificing in war, and those who are thoughtful and patriotic in council, I cannot doubt we shall gain a political triumph which will restore our Union, bring back peace and prosperity to our

land, and will give us once more the blessings of a wise, economical, and honest Government.

I am, gentlemen, truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

To General G. W. MORGAN, and others, Committee, &c., &c.

Gov. Seymour to the Citizens of Utica on his Return from the Democratic National Convention, July 13, 1868.

I HAVE been very grateful for the marks of good-will which I have received from the representatives of the Democratic party of all the States in this Union, but this exhibition of kindness and partiality from my own townsmen impresses itself upon my heart most deeply of all.

During the whole course of my life I have received from them, without distinction of party, proofs of good-will that I shall ever cherish with gratitude during the remainder of my existence. I am now suffering from a violent inflammation in my throat, which, my physician advises me, makes it dangerous to speak in the open air, but at the risk of my life I must thank you for this striking and gratifying proof of your good-will and partiality toward me.

Governor Seymour not a Bond-Holder.

UTICA, N. Y., July 21, 1868.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 16th inst. to Gov. Seymour is received. He directs me to answer your interrogatories, and say: He does not own a United States bond, and never did own one; and he never dealt in bonds or banking of any kind. Very respectfully yours, &c.,

B. D. NOXON, JR.

To H. R. DUNN, Esq., Bloomington, Ill.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING

SEVERAL SPEECHES AND OTHER PAPERS, WHICH
WERE UNAVIDABLY OMITTED IN THEIR
CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER IN THE
BODY OF THE BOOK.

Address of Mr. Seymour before the New York State Military Association, Albany, January 23, 1862.

Militia Organizations a Constitutional Requirement—Power and Importance of the Militia—Evil Results to the Country of neglecting the Militia—Wickedness of the Rebellion—Dangers threatening the State of New York—Its Exposure to British Invasion—Strength of the Militia—Strategic Importance of the State—Past Military Experiences.

MR. PRESIDENT:—I find myself the subject of military coercion. I declined to deliver the annual address before this Association, although I was gratified with the invitation. But I found upon reaching this city, that public notice was given that I would speak upon this occasion. I do not feel myself at liberty to disobey this peremptory order. The great respect I feel for this Association, my sense of the valuable services it has heretofore rendered, and the fact that it meets with diminished numbers, because so many of its members are engaged in the service of our country, compel me to yield my objections, although I am unprepared with an address fitting the circumstances under which we meet. At a time when our militia system had fallen into contempt, and it required no little moral courage to revive it, this Association was formed, and by its efforts did much to restore our military organization. We now feel the benefit of these patriotic exertions. Its members were foremost among those who came forward in defence of our National capital, and the protection of our National flag. And they have been conspicuous among those who have done honorable and gallant service in the cause of our country.

A strange indifference has heretofore been shown with regard to those provisions of our National and State Constitutions which require comprehensive military organization throughout our land. Our fathers attached great importance to this feature of our Government. The power was given to Congress,

"to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress. And also, to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

Not content with these provisions, among the amendments made to the Constitution in fact, although not in form, as conditions upon which several of the States, New York included, adopted that instrument, was the following:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms *shall not be infringed*."

If we turn to the Constitution of New York, we find that the Governor is made Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the State,

as the President is made Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States. The theory of our Government makes the militia an important and substantial part of its system. It is interwoven with the whole structure. If it is allowed to fall into decay, our institutions are weakened. The fear is sometimes expressed that we shall become a military people. Our fathers meant that we should be a martial nation; and none the less so, because the military is to be subordinate to the civil power. It was to constitute the strength which the Executive could put forth to execute the laws, to crush rebellion, and to repel invasion. The fact that our military is interwoven with the civil system, was not designed to lessen its power or its importance, but to render it less dangerous by identifying it with every interest of the citizen, and to make it intrinsic and not extrinsic to our social policy. It arms the American citizen with a musket as it does with the ballot, to give him the means to protect his rights. It contemplates that he shall be skilled in the use of arms, and attached to an organization equal to the performance of its constitutional duty of upholding the Government and driving away invaders. All republics have been, and must be, martial in their organization.

I do not mean that the military must be exalted above the civil power, nor that republics must be invasive in tendency. But I do mean to say that the power of every country is in the hands of its armed men. If these armed men are the citizens at large, the liberties of that community are safe. But if these armed and disciplined men are set apart from the rest of the people, have separate interests, and are under different control, they are the masters of the Government, I care not what that government may be called. If the 600,000 men now enrolled in our armies were not fellow-citizens, identified with us in every interest and every feeling, our liberties would be lost, and we could not recall them from the camp to their homes in our midst, and to the duties of civil life. So anxious were our fathers to make us a martial people, that they exempted the musket from execution before they placed the Bible, school-book, mechanic's tool, or the implement of husbandry, beyond the reach of the creditor's grasp. They meant that arms should be found in every household. The artist, when he delineates the American homestead, makes the rifle or the musket hang from the hooks from the ceiling, above his pictured scene of abundance, happiness, and freedom. This conception of the painter embodies the very purposes of the statesmen who framed our institutions. The suggestion of the Governor of this State that instruction in the use of arms should be made a part of our school and college education, is in accordance with the spirit and genius of our Government.

We cannot with safety allow our militia system to fall into contempt. Experience constantly vindicates the wisdom of our fathers, and evil always follows the non-performance of our constitutional duties.

We denounce the rebellion as most wicked, because it wages war against the best Government the world has ever seen. Remember there is guilt in negligence as well as disobedience, and there is danger too. We complain that the arms of the General Government were, heretofore, unequally distributed. This is owing in part to the treasonable purposes of officials, but it is also due in part to our own neglect

of our constitutional duties. Our enrolled militia should count more than five hundred thousand, but they do not exceed one-half of that number. Hence our quota of arms was diminished, and that of the Southern States increased. The want of these arms, and a proper military organization, has added immensely to the cost of this war and to the burden of taxation. More than this, if we had respected our constitutional obligations, we might, at the outset, have placed in the field a force that would have put out this rebellion when it was first kindled.

I wish not only to call your attention to our constitutional duties, but also to the particular calamities that overhang our State and nation. I will not dwell upon the rebellion at the South, for it is the subject of general thought and conversation. But let us look at threatened invasion from abroad. I am not an alarmist, nor do I wish to determine what degree of danger there is of a foreign war. It is enough to state that our relationships with Great Britain are disturbed. Our interest and honor, then, demand that we shall hold the language used in Parliament, when the ministry attempted to allay the fears of a French invasion, by asserting the friendly feeling of the Emperor of France, and urging, therefore, that there was no need for military preparation. It was well said in answer, that the honor and dignity of Great Britain did not permit that its security should depend upon the good-will of any foreign power; but that it should be guarded by its own armed strength!

The honor and dignity of the State of New York, the interest and safety of its citizens, should not be based upon the purposes of a power that insults us through its press, and menaces us by pouring armed men and munitions of war into an adjoining territory; or, with the combined fleets of France and Spain, defies the declarations of our Government, that it will tolerate no European intervention with the affairs of this continent.

When the alliance was formed between France and Great Britain to wage war against the empire of Russia, Lord Clarendon told the world that this unnatural coalition had reference as well to the western as to the eastern continent. What was the offence of Russia that provoked this united attack? It was its growing greatness. It was because its government sought, by gaining an access to the Mediterranean, to make its people commercial, and thus to advance them in civilization. This would have promoted the interest of the civilized world. But the selfish policy of Britain, as avowed by Lord Shaftsbury, brooks no rival in commerce. Are we less formidable than Russia in the eyes of British statesmen? Have we not been Britain's successful rival upon the ocean? Has not our power in its growth outstripped that of all other nations? Are not her subjects flocking to our shores, in numbers exceeding the multitudes that sought in the crusades to plant the cross upon holy land? Each year adds 1,000,000 to our population, by immigration and natural increase. If the power of Russia was an offence, is not our progress a great crime? I do not know its purposes, but the British Government does know what it intends; and with exclusive possession of that knowledge, it sends its armies, at this inclement season, into its Canadian provinces, at a hazard to the safety of her soldiers greater than that of a pitched battle. Can she have objects in thus making ready

for war, more important than we have in making ready to resist invasion? Shall her ambition or hostility make her more vigilant than our safety and honor make us?

What is our condition when we are thus menaced? Within ten days, if we are unprepared, every city and town upon our northern borders may be destroyed. A single day's possession of Lockport or Rochester, would enable an enemy to break up our greatest lines of communication and commerce, and make the Erie canal useless for years.

A valuable report has been sent to our Legislature, by the Engineer-in-chief of the Governor's staff, showing the importance of a system of fortifications to protect our principal towns. But these will be of no avail upon our northern borders, without an armed and organized militia. No fortifications can be placed at Buffalo or Oswego, which can save those towns from destruction if they are assailed by a force which can reach them with heavy ordnance. The destructive missiles of modern warfare might not capture these forts, but in a few hours they would tear and crush into ruins the important and beautiful cities which these fortresses were designed to protect. Upon the sea-board, harbors must be the point of attack, but we cannot on our northern boundary compel an enemy to assail fortified points.

Are we prepared to avert these calamities? Our population greatly exceeds that of the adjoining provinces. The honor and safety of our country demands that war along our northern borders should be waged upon their soil and not upon ours. The State of New York has 500,000 men capable of bearing arms. Yet with these elements of power, we cannot to-day resist the march of 10,000 disciplined troops before they could inflict incalculable injury and lasting disgrace. It appears from the able report of the Adjutant-General, that we have only about 30,000 serviceable small arms, which are scattered about in our depots, and in the hands of the uniformed companies. Our militia are disorganized by enlistments into armies of the General Government. If Great Britain should pursue its traditional policy of striking the first blow, and letting the declaration follow acts of war, we could neither recall our troops, nor arm and organize our citizens, before a campaign would be lost. I implore our Legislature to take immediate and efficient steps to secure the safety of our State. I beg them to be warned by the actions of that power which destroyed at Copenhagen the fleet of Denmark, and swept ships of Holland from the ocean by surprise.

We complain that the civil war in which we are engaged came upon us when we were unprepared and unarmed. If we permit ourselves to be again taken by surprise, after months of warning, during which we have listened to the mutterings of coming war, measured its progress, and pondered upon its results, we shall have no excuse to offer for gazing unmoved upon a great impending calamity, and putting forth no efforts to avert its disasters and its disgrace. If we are not willing to put ourselves in a position to command the respect of the world, we should lower our pretensions, and drop the language of defiance.

It will not be inappropriate at this time to call your attention to the strategic importance of New York, in the event of a foreign war. Upon this point I will repeat what I have said upon another

occasion. The geographical and physical character of this State has always had, and will continue to have, a commanding influence over the affairs of our country. It has been the principal theatre of great events upon this continent, in war, in commerce, in jurisprudence, and in legislation, for reasons as enduring and as conspicuous as its valleys, its mountain ranges, its lakes and its streams. It will continue to be the Empire State, not only because of its greater population, but because of its commanding position.

The picturesque valley, reaching from the harbor of New York to the St. Lawrence, in which lie Lake George and Lake Champlain, and through which the Hudson flows to the ocean, and the valley of the Mohawk, which intersects it at right angles, make the base lines of our State. Its triangular form corresponds with their courses; they make our commanding and peculiar relationship with other sections of our country. These valleys break through the ranges of the Alleghany Mountains, and give level pathways leading from the harbor of New York to the St. Lawrence on the north, and the great lakes and prairies on the west. The valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk produce remarkable results. While no other Atlantic State can be traversed from its eastern to its western borders without overcoming mountain ranges, you can go from the city of New York across our continent to the mouth of the Columbia River without leaving the valleys of lakes and streams, save for a single mile between the head-waters of the Columbia and Missouri rivers. You can also go from our commercial metropolis into twenty States of the Union, by threading the valleys with which we are connected by confluent streams. Nature has not only given us these gateways into a vast portion of our country, but, at the same time, the peculiar topography of New York makes it the water-shed from which most of our great rivers receive their tributaries.

A single railroad in this State touches or crosses the waters which flow by most of the principal towns of the continent. The New York and Erie Railway, commencing at the Hudson, upon which stand the capital of our State and the great cities of New York and Brooklyn, in its course westward crosses the Delaware, which runs by Philadelphia into the Delaware Bay, the Susquehannah, which flows by Baltimore into the Chesapeake, upon the affluents of which stand Washington, Norfolk and Richmond. Still further west it touches the Alleghany, which in its course to the Gulf of Mexico passes by Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans. The terminus of this road is upon the margin of the great lakes, upon which stand the cities of Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, and whose waters are carried into the Gulf of St. Lawrence through the Niagara river, sweeping by Montreal and Quebec into the stormy Northern ocean.

The possession of the territory of New York has always given a command in war and in commerce of a vast proportion of our country. Before the occupation of our continent by the white man, New York was held by a confederacy of Indians, who had subdued the territory now held by New England, the country north of the great lakes, and the region lying south as far as Virginia, and west to the Mississippi river. They waged war with the savages of the Southern States, and brought one tribe from thence, the Tuscaroras, who still remain in the western part of our State. While their conquests were due in

some degree to their bravery in war, the geographical peculiarities I have described were the principal causes of their success. Their power was combined by easy communication between themselves, and nature gave them avenues which led into the countries of their enemies. They were able to pour their united forces through the valleys I have mentioned, while their foes were broken into different communities by mountain ranges. They held in subjection numbers far greater than their own, because they could attack and subdue isolated tribes. Nature marked out for them the same strategy which Napoleon used with such wonderful success—that of maintaining a compact force, and bringing the greatest power to bear upon the point of attack.

After the discovery of this continent and its settlement by Europeans, the wars and national animosities of France and England were transferred to America. In this then remote part of the earth, in the deep recesses of the forests, a bloody and protracted warfare was waged. We find that armies followed the track of the war-path, and the Mohawk and upper Hudson were the scenes of their conflicts. The ferocity of this contest, and the numbers engaged, in a region so sequestered and wild, were remarkable. Both nations, looking upon these valleys as the keys to the whole country, strove for their possession. Every effort of diplomacy was made to gain the alliance of the Five Nations, and for a long time with varied success. The French established a colony at Onondaga. In 1690, a party of French and Indians burned Schenectady. In 1755, a bloody battle was fought at Lake George, between the French under Baron Dieskau, and the Indians and colonists, under Sir William Johnson. In 1756, Montcalm with nine thousand men captured Fort William Henry on the same lake, and his savage allies massacred fifteen hundred of its garrison. Gen. Abercrombie, with an army of sixteen thousand men, passed through Lake George with a fleet of more than one thousand boats, and made a desperate but unsuccessful attack on the French at Ticonderoga. His loss was more than two thousand killed, among whom was Lord Howe, one of the most chivalrous and heroic men of the British army. As a part of the same campaign, Fort Stanwix was built at Rome, and an expedition was planned against Canada by way of Oswego. In 1757, Lord Chatham, determined to expel the French from this continent, placed Lord Amherst at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, a greater force than was employed against us at any time during the Revolutionary war. One division under Prideaux was sent up the valley of the Mohawk to Western New York; another under Wolfe up the St. Lawrence, while the main body, under Amherst, moved through the valley of the upper Hudson, through Lake George and Lake Champlain, to Canada, where the concentration of forces was to complete the conquest of that province. This campaign ended in the capture of Quebec, the dramatic deaths of the rival heroes, Wolfe and Montcalm, and the extinction of the French power on this portion of the continent. The expenses of that war constitute a large item in the present national debt of Great Britain. More than ten millions of dollars were spent in fortifying Crown Point, although that fortress was never completed.

When the Revolutionary contest began, these valleys, which had been the scenes of Indian warfare, and the equally savage contest be-

tween the British and the French, immediately became the theatre of a continued and bloody struggle. The whole region of the Mohawk was plunged into a civil war of the most ruthless character. The first capture of British arms and prisoners was made by Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga, and the first naval battle of the Revolution fought by Arnold on Lake Champlain. Knowing that the control of the Hudson would divide and destroy the power of the patriots, our enemies attempted to secure its possession. General Burgoyne, with his disciplined army, came down the valley of the upper Hudson. Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, with a fleet, were to sail up that river, while St. Leger, with Indian forces, entered the valley of the Mohawk at Rome. Through these accustomed pathways of war, our State was assailed at once by the naval power, the disciplined armies, and the savage allies of the British empire. The defeat of the latter at Rome, and the surrender of Burgoyne, baffled this great combined movement, the most formidable made against our liberties. The battle of Saratoga achieved the freedom of our country. It gained us the alliance of France, and substantially terminated the contest. In our last war with Great Britain, she acted upon the same idea of getting possession of these great avenues of this State, and thus dividing the power of our country. It was hoped, if thus separated from the rest of the Union, the inhabitants of New England would not be unwilling to renew their allegiance to the British crown. Her army, aided by her fleet, entered northern New York by Lake Champlain. Attacks were made upon Sackett's Harbor, designed to reach the valley of the Mohawk. The victories of Macomb and McDonough defeated the hopes of our enemies at home and abroad, and terminated this last effort to concentrate hostile armies at the capital of our State.

Since the invasion of the French from Canada, in 1665, under De Courselles, that part of New York lying along Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson has been the field of strife and blood in fifteen campaigns. [See "Elements of Military Art and Science," by H. Wager Halleck.] An equal if not greater number of military expeditions or savage forays have been directed against its Western and Ontario borders, the valley of the Mohawk, and the head waters of the Susquehanna. The Lower Hudson was the perpetual seat of war during the Revolution. There is no part of our State which has not suffered from the contests of disciplined armies, or from the horrors of the torch and the scalping-knife in the hands of infuriated savages. New York has been the battle-field of our country.

These occurrences have thus followed in the same channels, not for casual but for enduring causes. The influences of these valleys have not been confined to guiding the tracks of war. Where war-paths led through deep forests; where the standards of France were borne by chivalrous warriors; where armies marched in their assaults upon our liberties, you will now find the great avenues of commerce. They are crowded with vessels laden with the fruits of our soil; supplying the wants not only of our own, but foreign lands. France and England are now looking to this country, which they have enriched with their blood, for the bread to feed their armies and their people. Look at the products carried through these channels of commerce; trace back their transportation through great lakes, up winding rivers, or across vast plains, to the fields upon which they were tilled; think of the

toil bestowed upon them, the thousand hopes and fears, of pleasures and of sorrows, with which they are associated, and which yet cling to them in their course through our State; and you will feel that the drama of life as here presented, in emigration or commerce, is not of less dignity than the pomp and circumstance of war.

The history of our State is full of noble examples which should animate us with patriotic love of our State and nation. Its geographical position imposes upon us peculiar duties with regard to other sections of our Union. The progress of our nation will lessen the comparative importance of other States. It will be otherwise with New York. Commanding the avenues of commerce, of intercourse, and the pathways of events, it will grow with the growth of our country. Its power will survive all political changes, if its citizens are true to its interest and to its honor. But we must not allow its security to depend upon the forbearance of any foreign power. We must not be untrue to the history of the past. It must hold a position of armed defence, and depend upon the hereditary bravery of its inhabitants to resent insults and to repel invasion. If, in the language of the National Constitution, "*A well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free State, and the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.*" then there will be treasonable guilt on the part of our legislators, if, in an hour of imminent danger, they leave us unprotected, unorganized, and unarmed.



Governor Seymour at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, October 4, 1862.

Speech on the Question of the withdrawal of the Southern Dioceses from the General Convention.

MR. SEYMOUR said: He desired to offer a few observations relative to the vote he had, on the preceding day, cast in favor of the resolutions introduced by the Rev. Dr. Brunot, of Pennsylvania. He was a close and constant reader of the public journals; more so, perhaps, than any member of the august and honorable body before him; and on the morning of the day in question, he had read in one of the public prints what would probably be the purport of the resolutions to be presented. Thus informed beforehand of their scope and character, he had come to the Convention with his mind prepared, and had voted in favor of the resolutions. He had done so deliberately, because he sincerely thought that a fair, free, and thorough discussion of the great question would clear the mental atmosphere of the Convention of any doubt that lingered there; would set the great Episcopal body of the Union right before the country and its brethren everywhere; and would, in the restoration of a perfect understanding, and the settlement of the disputed points, contribute to the future harmony and joy of all the members of that Convention when they should return to

their homes. He, for one, did not fear debate, in its widest and fullest sense. Why should any member of so dignified, and, in the persons of its reverend clergy, so exalted a convocation, hesitate to adopt any course in consonance with its high and holy mission? The discussion that was proposed would, perchance, remove from among them many subjects of dispute, nay, even of discord, with which the Church had, directly, nothing whatever to do; and in this light, and with this aim, he could not but believe that the introduction of the question would be productive of essential good; for it was his earnest hope, as it was his sincere conviction, that the influence of the Episcopal Church would be a most ready and effective instrument in bringing about the healing up of the wounds, and the restoration of a blessed peace. Such had been the mission of the Church of Christ in all ages and in all lands, where its standard had been reared, and no hour so dark had come, no tempest so fierce had rolled over the world, when the sacred emblems of our glorious faith, and the teachings of the Man of God, had not been able to arrest and soothe, and, finally, to subdue the wrath of human passions.

War had its uses, and, at times, the path to peace lay over the bloody furrows of the battle-field; but there was a power in love that transcended all the achievements of mere brute force. Such was not only the doctrine of God's word, but it was the common testimony of the past.

It was with this view, and penetrated by this sentiment, that the speaker had voted for a special and common form of prayer for this emergency—a form in which all might fervently unite—one that would express the innermost throbbings of their hearts, and, at the same time, convey to the world a true comprehension of the position of the Church. In so doing it was essential that the invocations addressed to the Most High, and the Episcopal action taken by this important body, should be conceived in a true spirit of love for their erring and misguided brethren, and that the record should be such as to withstand the scrutiny of the future.

When he contemplated the stalwart form of his reverend friend from New York (Dr. Vinton) as he rose—every inch the type of a soldier for the field as well as a soldier in the service of Christ—when he saw him stand up before this house and heard him, in that pregnant, forcible, and eloquent language, which is so singularly his gift, heap denunciations on the South, carried on by the fervent zeal that distinguished him in all his undertakings, he (the speaker) could not refrain from casting his thoughts forward for relief to that period, still three years in the future, when this Convention would again assemble; when the whole Church, North and South, would again be gathered around the common altar, to offer there a common sacrifice. In that day, and amid that scene, he knew that his old friend, whose voice had yesterday rung like a war-trumpet in their ears, would be the first in good feeling—would be a very child in the gracious joy with which he would greet his Southern brethren returning to their old accustomed seats.

Let there be nothing, then, placed upon the record to revive rancor in that hour of cordial re-union; let there remain no seed of future discord in the Church, but let the proceedings of that high body bear evidence to the abundant love and charity that filled it. Such, he

felt, was the real sentiment of those around him, and hence he favored the discussion that he knew must elicit it. Just and wise action, he believed, would follow the debate.

To the causes of the existing war he would not refer. There, as in all other large bodies, different political opinions were entertained, and these he did not want to involve in controversy. Yet he could not, and would not, refrain from saying, and saying emphatically, too, that, whatever might have been the origin of this unhappy contest, there seemed to be abroad in the land a forgetfulness or a disregard of the wise policy and glorious principles of our fathers—a neglect of those essential elements of republican liberty that were the life of the State, and a reckless spirit of headlong theory, which had plunged our country into gigantic difficulties. Our own sins, the sins of the whole land, had invited our present troubles, and it would be well, in the question now before the house, to avoid, if possible, the fatal error of ascribing all error to one source, and to place upon the record that which three years hence they would bitterly regret to see there.

Let not the idle pastime of issuing paper bulls against the blazing comet be repeated by so grave a body, but let those things which are not of the Church take care of themselves in other channels. Let the bonds of brotherhood so remain, that on another day we may meet our Southern brethren once more, and drown the remembrance of the past differences in the tears of heartfelt reconciliation. For his part he was conscientiously and frankly under strong convictions of duty to his country, and, animated by undying fealty to her happiness and progress, from the very first opposed the extravagant action of those especially wedded to the war. Yet he desired just as earnestly to see the Church made unmistakable before the South and the whole world. But, in whatever action the Convention might propose to take, he conjured it to deal with our Southern brethren as children of the same Father, as members of the same flock, as fellow-countrymen once, as such to be again, as Christian men. In conclusion, then, disclaiming all intention or desire to call up any question not conducive to the best interests of the Church, he would again express the hope that the resolution might be fully and freely discussed.

Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting in Rome, N. Y., November 15, 1862.

Rejoicings over the Conservative Victories—Logic of the Election Results—The Issues involved and settled—Charity toward the Republicans—Promised Executive Clemency to Political Enemies—As Governor, is going to bless Opponents with Political Advantages—Facetious allusions to Mr. Kernan—The Speaker's Certificate of Character from his own Neighbors—He affects Dairy-farming and Cheese-making more than Political Honors and Public Office—National Character and Effect of the Triumph—Promise of a Restoration of Official Purity and Constitutional Unity—Future Prosperity, Greatness, and Glory of the Country.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I thank you for this cordial greeting; and yet I do not misunderstand the joy that now warms your hearts and

brightens your countenances. It is not merely that any man has been elected to office. It is not merely because we have achieved a political triumph. It is something broader and deeper than all that. It is because the people of these United States, under circumstances of unusual solemnity, standing amid the new-made graves of two hundred thousand Northern men, whose lives have been given up to the cause of their country, feeling deeply the great calamities which have weighed upon us; amid all the excitement—amid all the disasters of a great civil war, whose gigantic proportions can hardly be grasped by the human mind—against all the influences and all the patronage of a Government expending each day more money than was ever spent before by any government in the history of the world—I say, it is because that, under circumstances like this, the American people in every State where they have been called upon to vote, have come up calmly, quietly, but resolutely, and have reestablished and reaffirmed the Constitution of the United States.

My friends, you rejoice because these results have secured the sacredness of your homes, the security of your persons, and of all those great rights which are embalmed in the Constitution. This was no ordinary election; this was no mere political struggle; no ordinary political result. It was a solemn re-affirming and reestablishing of the great work of our fathers when they laid the cornerstone of this Union, and built it up in all its fair proportions, and then secured it by a Constitution unequalled and unparalleled in the history of nations. What was it that animated the great masses of our people at the last election? Why did they come out in such unusual numbers? Why, against such unusual influences, were we able to make such a great political revolution in our land—saying, as our people did, with a calmness that will astonish the world—saying, as they did, with a calmness that will vindicate American institutions all over the world, and that will teach the people of Europe that we are capable of self-government—saying to our rulers that they must step back again within the appropriate limits of their power? Why is it, my fellow-citizens, that we saw also another thing; more than half our political opponents in their hearts rejoice with us, as well they may. This victory which we have achieved is not for ourselves alone; it is not the triumph of a party; it was not won by a single party alone; it was a victory wrought out by conservative men of all parties, and it vindicates principles just as important, and just as valuable for our political opponents as for ourselves.

What were the principles submitted to our decision in the recent election? That has passed by, and men can now calmly consider its bearings and contemplate its results. It was nothing more nor less than this: whether the American people would go to the ballot-box and there decide that they were ready to give up all their constitutional rights; whether they would decide in favor of the monstrous doctrine that all our freedom and all our liberties were to be held at the discretion and option of any one man; that one man could in the first place declare that war existed in one corner of the confederacy, and, having established that fact, that he could go further, and declare that the loyal people of the State of New York, who had two hundred thousand men in the field and fifty thousand slain soldiers lying in their graves, had forfeited and lost all their constitutional rights be-

cause there was a rebellion in South Carolina or Virginia. My friends, in a few short years our opponents will never believe that they contended for such principles as these. I do not charge upon them that they wished to violate our rights. I have no unkind feeling toward them.

You have sent for us here to-night to rejoice with you over our election to the particular capacities in which we are to serve you. I suppose you want to know what I am going to do as Governor. I will tell you that the first act of my administration shall be a great act of executive clemency. I shall extend my hearty pardon to every one of our political opponents, no matter how harsh in denunciation or how bitter in attack they may have been toward us. We are not only going to pardon them, we are going to bless them also. We are going to give them all those advantages of freedom of speech, of freedom of action, which we have demanded for ourselves. We say to men now, who but a little while since, in their excitement, in their madness, in their passion (I do not speak this harshly, for, my friends, we have all of us made this kind of mistake—we have all lost our good tempers at times, and been sorely tried in these respects—we know how they feel, as we felt two years ago, when we were not the most amiable people in the world); we say to these men in all earnestness and in all seriousness, that we have been struggling for principles that concern them as deeply as they concern us. We attempted to admonish them before this election came on—and they will remember our words—that amid the excitement of this war, and their deep feelings in regard to the condition of the country, they allowed themselves to be carried to a point beyond what their judgment will approve in calmer and more dispassionate moments. And the day is near at hand when we shall be cordially thanked by our political opponents, as we now ourselves cordially rejoice over the success we have achieved.

But this is not the occasion for making a speech. I have talked too much, perchance, during the last two months, and it is not for that that you sent for me. We came here to-night to enable you to learn what kind of a man we have sent to Congress. We want to see and hear for ourselves this evening whether he is the right kind of man to make a speech or not. You do not expect governors to make speeches. You sent me to Albany, and him (Mr. Kernan) to Congress, instead of sending him to Albany and me to Congress, showing that in your judgment he is better calculated to make speeches and address a public assemblage than I am. Therefore, my friends, I want him to have an opportunity to speak to you to-night, for I can hardly enter on the subject. I can hardly say what is uppermost in my mind and yours without infringing on a particular piece of property of his, which is called the Ninth resolution.

Now, my friends of Rome, my friends, too, of the county of Oneida, I congratulate you that we have had a political revolution here that will bring new men into the field of action. From this time on the county of Oneida is to resume its former great conservative position. Look where you will over our State, there is no county that has done more to secure our victory than the county of Oneida; and there is no spot in the county where the Democrats and conservative citizens have combated more vigorously, more efficiently, than here in the town of Rome. Standing here, we are at the topmost point of the great victory we have achieved; which

has been wrought more particularly in the county of Oneida than in any other county, and more especially in the town of Rome, beyond any other portion of the county of Oneida. I thank you, my friends, so far as I am individually concerned, for the cordial and kindly support you have given me. I thank you that all the harsh accusations brought against myself, affecting my character and my loyalty, have made so little impression on your minds. When I was elsewhere, where I was a stranger, where I found that men were perhaps inclined to listen to these accusations, to whom I was introduced, and who were surprised to find that I was not as they had been induced to suppose—a man with a very red nose and a very truculent countenance, I said, if they would only wait—for I was not disposed to discuss my merits and demerits—I would abide the verdict of my neighbors upon the accusations which had been made against me. I felt grateful to my assailants that, when they had said things against me, they were always careful to say things that were not true. I was very much afraid that they would say so many things that were true, which might have embarrassed me very much. Therefore I made this suggestion—knowing your generosity, your unwearied kindness to myself, and your readiness to overlook my weakness and to accept my good intentions for good acts—that instead of being put on the stand with regard to my own character and my loyalty, all these questions should be referred to the great home jury of the county of Oneida, and I would stand or fall by their verdict. Now, my friends, when you reduced the opposition majority more than 2,500 in this county, I felt that you had sent me away to the city of Albany with a good certificate of my character. In the performance of the great duty which the people have imposed upon me, I will try to vindicate the good opinion you have expressed of me. Amid all the trials and difficulties I may have to encounter, I will labor to justify the favorable verdict you have given on my behalf.

I can tell you this, that, wherever I may be, whatever position I may occupy, wherever I may travel over this great land of ours—and you may have heard during the election that I am a good deal of a traveller; you have been told more than once that I visited the Far West and am quite familiar with the wilds of Wisconsin—that I even sought refuge there—but wherever I am, whatever part of our country I find myself in, whether at the South, or on the plains of the great West, or in the extreme North, my heart always turns homeward to the glorious old county of Oneida; and, although I am to be now separated from you for a long period of time, I shall look forward with anxious longing to that moment when I can make my home in your midst, and again resume my own proper pursuit, which is that of dairy-farmer in the town of Deerfield, engaged quite successfully in the manufacture of cheese; that my affections, my thoughts, my interests, shall never be and never have been withdrawn from the home to which I am so warmly attached, and from the county of which I am so truly proud.

I thank you, then, my friends; from the bottom of my heart, again I thank you. Not that you have battled for me in this contest—it was not for me—but most of all for great principles of Government, for the Constitution and laws, for the Union of your country. And

yet I thank you that you did not allow the attacks and assaults which were made on your candidate to draw you aside in the slightest degree from the stern, complete, and faithful performance of your duty to the country.

My friends, we may congratulate ourselves that we have not only redeemed our State, but served our nation. Great joy was felt throughout all this wide land of ours when you pronounced your verdict in favor of the Constitution of our country and the Union of our States. Men who had become heartsick and discouraged have taken new courage, and, from this time forth, will combat with fresh vigor and with renewed faith that they can once more help to restore their country. In the ranks of our armies; in the tented fields of the battle-ground, there was joy when you pronounced your verdict, which told our soldiers in the field that they were no longer to wage an uncertain war—not henceforth to follow out the vagaries of mere theorists, of fanatical and misguided men—but they were to fight hereafter solely for the flag of their country, for its Union and its Constitution. In after times, those who follow us will look back to this election as one of the great and sacred events in the history of our country. They will view it as we do, and regard it as what I said at the outset it was, the reestablishment and the reaffirmation of the Constitution of these United States, under circumstances of as much solemnity and as much laborious care and thought as was bestowed on it when it was first framed by our fathers. I believe that, for long years to come, taught wisdom by the sufferings we have passed through—for all this blood and all this treasure has not been spilt in vain—I believe it has only served to sanctify these institutions of ours—to burn deep into every American heart the sentiment that, hereafter, we are to adhere to the principles of that Constitution, listen hereafter to the teachings of our fathers, get back to those great pathways which they marked out for us; and I firmly believe now, what I did not believe one year ago, that, gathering up new vigor, new patriotism, and more intelligence from the events of the last two years, the American people, chastened; made patriotic, made self-denying, are now about to start in a new career of greatness, of glory, and of prosperity; and that the main, the chief, the first cause of this new impulse given to our institutions, this new hope which now animates our patriotism, this new light which breaks upon us in the darkness which for the time overhung us, will be the calm, intelligent, patriotic action of the American people, who at this election, without excitement, without violence, have come calmly forward in the exercise of the rights and privileges of American citizens, and have told their rulers to step back again within the limits of their rightful jurisdiction, over which they had strayed in the excitement of the times.

Now, from this time on we shall find evidences accumulating that our country is to be restored to its former prosperity. We have shown to loyal men at the South—and there are many thousand loyal men there who only waited to hear that they could be safe in the limits of the Union and under the shield of the Constitution to declare themselves—from this time forth you will hear the evidences that we have kindled anew the fires of patriotism all over the land, and more particularly in those portions of it which have been cursed and seared

and blasted by this great rebellion. It is this hope which animates you and me, and brightens all our countenances, and makes us once more joyous after all the sad months which we have passed through, almost without hope. After four or five months more have rolled away I trust we shall find the Union not only restored to its former greatness, but the country will become more great, more glorious, than it was before; that the flag of our country, when it waves from the lofty column of the restored Union, will not only sustain the name of the old States, but of still more States. We shall raise that column still higher to heaven, and from its topmost height will wave the flag of our country, with all its stars and all its stripes, and with still more stars glittering on its folds, which shall tell the world that the American Union, restored, renewed, and regenerated, has commenced its new onward march for the cause of liberty and freedom throughout the world.

Governor Seymour at the Democratic State Convention, Albany, Sept. 9, 1863.

Refers to the Past—Action of Democracy when War began—Appeals to Party in Power—Effect of Usurpations and arbitrary Measures—Powers and Rights of the States—Opinion upon the Confiscation Act—Impolicy and Injustice of Conscription—Faith in the Union—Obedience to the Laws—Efforts to regulate the Enrolment—Their Result—The proper Policy is Conciliation—The Emancipation Proclamation—Hopes for Peace and demands Integrity of the Union.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—Three years have passed away since you and others whom I see before me to-night, assembled in this hall for the purpose of trying to avert the war which now afflicts the land. We saw the storm, and we then invoked that party which had just achieved a triumph in the nation, to unite with us in an endeavor to prevent the calamity. Our fears were derided; our prayers were mocked, and we were told that we were not true to the Union. How sad has been the intervening period! How many of the young men of the country have been carried to bloody graves! How much mourning is spread over the land! What agony and distress! We met again when the war had been brought to another of its stages, and once more we appealed to our Republican friends to join us in an effort to save the country. Then, too, our appeals were in vain. But I will not dwell on the darker side of the picture. Sad as has been our history, some good has resulted from it, for we have learned to value our rights and to appreciate the inestimable worth of our institutions, and those who stigmatized us as Union-savers are now glad to talk of maintaining the Union and the supremacy of the Constitution. For this I am grateful, although our petition might have been received more graciously. At Syracuse, a few days ago, they resolved to uphold the Union. This I accept as a good omen. Although coupled with words harsh and unjust toward myself, most heartily do I welcome this promise on their part. I am not without

hopes as to the future. The war has taught all men the high duty of maintaining the Constitution, for that, and that only will result in establishing the Union upon a firmer basis, and the rights of the States upon a settled foundation. I know that the acts of the last Congress, originating in error, and baneful in their influences as many of them have been, alarmed the land. They sought the centralization of power. But I have never doubted the result, for those very measures are to overthrow their theories of government. It will be found that the measures adopted to enlarge and centralize the powers of the General Government cannot, in the end, restrain the rights of the States.

The States are the natural sources of the powers of the General Government, and although put down they will rise again. Our fathers saw that if the Government attempted the exercise of powers other and greater than those secured to it under the Constitution, it would imperil and destroy itself. Let us see if they were right. A few months ago the Government adopted measures relative to the currency, the indemnity, and confiscation, and also the Conscription Act, if I may be allowed to term it so. I have had no views and no secrets, no correspondence which I have not submitted most cheerfully to public scrutiny. I there expressed the opinion that when the Conscription Act should be put into operation, that act which threatens the integrity of the States, and trenches upon personal rights, opposed as it is to the genius of a free government, I then said, that when they entered upon its enforcement they would be baffled, because it was inconsistent with the nature of our Government. One year ago the people had voluntarily given one million of men, and had poured forth their treasure in unexampled profusion, for the prosecution of the war. Every school district, every township, contributed men and means without stint. Why? Because called upon by the Government? Rather, because prompted by the will of the people. Our Government was armed with a military power unequalled by any other nation; but, forgetting that its strength depends upon the popular will, they pursue a course inconsistent with the nature of our institutions.

We made the issue with them at that very time, when they had at their command the largest military force on the globe, and we beat them. In those acts which they supposed were calculated to strengthen them, and perhaps weaken localities, they failed. One year ago our State gave one hundred and twenty thousand men to the war, and New York city contributed most liberally in men and money at that time. How is it now? Do men go as cheerfully now as then? No. That Government, around which one million of men so cheerfully rallied, now finds it necessary to use its utmost power to drag a few thousand into the field. Is this strength or weakness? success or failure? The State of New York, since the 1st of last January, has raised upward of twelve thousand volunteers, which is more than twice the number that will ever be carried out of the State by conscription. I do not say how many may go as substitutes, for that is equivalent to volunteering, but I venture to predict that they will never get six thousand to go because they have been drafted under the provision of that law. I am full of hope for the future, because I believe that a government that passes beyond

the legitimate bounds of its power, so far from endangering permanently the rights of the States, simply endangers the rights and strength of itself; and this lesson once learned by all men will result in a return to just principles. The glory and strength of a people must be the hearts of a people.

I am convinced that the Union will be preserved and the rights of all the States maintained, because our opponents will be driven back from their assumptions by sheer necessity and sad experience. I believe that in less than one year their own experience will have taught them that their theory, that the Government must be upheld by the exercise of doubtful powers, must be abandoned. There is but one way to maintain a government, and that is by upholding the laws and rights of every State and every citizen. Many harsh words and unjust charges have been indulged in by our opponents toward myself, and perhaps I owe it to you to say that I have never sought to embarrass the Government. Traded as I have been, I have seen in its many mistakes reason to uphold it, and have sought to direct it in the course which its own honor, as well as the honor of the country clearly dictates. I have appealed, with no selfish or partisan object in view, to its friends and agents, whenever an opportunity was presented, to avoid the errors into which it has fallen. Was it unfriendly to warn it of those unfair provisions in the conscription, which were so plainly calculated to render it objectionable and odious to the people? Who had the most interest in the matter? Whose interest was it that the law should be enforced in the fairest and most unobjectionable manner? Should anything have been more grateful to them than to try to render the enforcement of this law—objectionable as it is at best—as little obnoxious as possible? When in July last I discovered some inequalities of the enrolment, I deemed it my duty to the people and the Government to call its attention to them, with a view to their correction. They surely were most interested in having it fairly carried out. Is he not then the truest friend who, when the attempt is made to enforce such a law, seeks to render it least objectionable to popular support?

To this end I sent agents to Washington to represent its inequalities and unfairness. At a later day I sent a communication to the President, appealing to him to save our country from the infliction of these wrongs. This appeal was made as well for the sake of the Government as for the people; and this act is stigmatized, and the publication of those letters was alluded to, as calculated to arouse public resistance. Why then did they publish the letters? I have never published any of them. I not only wrote to this effect to the President, but to the commander of the Northeast district; there are two other letters which have not been published. But of this I don't complain, although they were neither official, nor private, nor confidential. I addressed a letter to Mr. Lincoln in which I informed him that I had discovered gross frauds in the operation of the law; that although politically opposed to his Administration, I was in this guided only by a regard for our country. I asked that those frauds be investigated. That was not an official letter. It commenced in a friendly tone, "Dear Sir," not "Sir," for all of my friends are not in New York. I addressed, also, a friendly letter to the commander of the Northeast district, suggesting that the enrolment was most unequal and unjust, if not fraudulent. I ex-

pressed the hope that this injustice would not be allowed, because it was calculated to bring gross discredit upon us in the eyes of the world. I felt the embarrassment of his position, and, therefore, I wished to save him from being impelled from military reasons on the one hand, and repelled by his repugnance to fraud on the other. Unfortunately I only disturbed his taste as to a word, and not his sense of fraud and wrong. In all this I have been guided simply and solely by a desire to save the Government from this great and fatal error. Should we, for this, be stigmatized as unfriendly to the Union? Who will say that it is not right and just, that the names of all the enrolled should be published? Is there a man opposed to having those rolls fairly and publicly deposited in the wheel, so that all may see and know that the conscription is being fairly conducted? And yet, when this is asked for, those making the request are stigmatized as inciting the community to outrage and wrong. Our purpose is not to violate the laws, our purpose is to vindicate the laws.

So much for the past and present; what of the future? Whatever our wrongs may be at the hands of our opponents, I believe I speak for those who think and act with me when I say, let the past be forgotten. Let their violations of law, and of the rights of the States, and of individuals, be buried, if you will only hear our prayers to avoid the dangers that threaten us in the future. Our armies have been successful. Heretofore there have been reasons why we could not seek peace. All men must have felt that if the war had ended when we had failed in some of our military undertakings, it might lead to serious complications in the future. Therefore we have waited. But now our success enables us to seek it with honor to ourselves and satisfaction to the people. Our policy would be generous and magnanimous. An honorable and high-minded man avails himself of success to make a generous disposition of the controversy in which he is involved. This should be our course now. The war has reached another stage in its progress, and a policy different from that which has been pursued must be marked out. Shall it be a policy of subjugation, a policy that will strip the States of all their rights? Such a policy implies a long and bloody war, and an incalculable waste of life and treasure. It is a policy which, if continued, must result in National bankruptcy and ruin. This would be its inevitable results. I appeal to you, Republican friends, that laying aside party prejudices we superadd to power the force of conciliation. Is there not more hope for an early and lasting peace, and a long career of happiness for the country, in a conciliatory line of policy? How can any man object to a policy that will unite the people, North and South, and call out from every section an ardent love for the Union and the Constitution?—a love which I firmly believe only slumbers in the revolted States and is not dead. Shall the party in power say our brothers have not crouched down to us—they are not yet subjugated? We have not yet satisfied our malice and hate. Is that as generous, as magnanimous, as saying—“Return to the Union—your rights shall be preserved sacred and inviolate.” Men must choose between these two lines of policy. We may have differed in the past; but now our armies have triumphed, our soldiers have proved their bravery and patriotism. They have sacrificed for the cause all that men hold dear, and now will we, who have had no share in the hardships and perils

of the field, sacrifice our pride and passion, thus showing to the world a just and fraternal regard for our countrymen ?

I am not disposed to criticise the President's recent letter unkindly, or to embarrass the Administration. I am willing to leave the emancipation proclamation just where he has left it, to stand valid if the courts pronounce it valid, and to fall if invalid ; and it must fall because it is invalid. I agree with him when he proposes to leave it where he knows it must die, without regret. He does not in that letter contemplate an easy termination of the war, nor does he propose any time when it will cease. We however are ready to mark out a policy, and that a conciliatory policy, that the States shall return with all their rights as marked down in the Constitution. I believe that the great conservative party of the country will say, "Return to your allegiance and we will maintain your rights." Whatever may be the course of the Administration, it becomes the conservatives to say to the South, "Let the war cease, come back to your allegiance, and we will protect your rights."

Never have I embarrassed the Administration, and I never will. I have at all times sought to uphold the army, and have neglected no opportunity to send succor to our men. I have toiled without ceasing to do my duty to the soldiers from New York. I have issued upward of five thousand commissions, and I don't know that the Administration, with all the unkind things its friends have said of me, has had occasion to say that my course has been partisan in regard to them. I repeat that I am full of hope for the future. I have never doubted that the Union will be restored. I have never feared that the rights of the States will be destroyed. I have never for a moment believed that the invasion of the rights of the States by the Government could be of a permanent character. The principles of conciliation and wisdom which guided our fathers, will outlive the folly of their successors. Conciliation is magnanimous ; generosity in its nature is larger than hate. A generous course now will commend us to the world. To the dissolution of the Union I will never consent. I would put forth every power ; I would exhaust every measure of conciliation ; I would appeal to the interests, the hopes, and fears of the citizens of the South, and urge every suggestion which it becomes a man to make, to bring back the revolted States ; but as to disunion, I will never consent to that. Let us put forth every power to restore the Union, invoking every consideration of patriotism ; doing all that is due to our country and to ourselves ; invoking the return of every State ; holding sacred every star upon those flags that surround us (pointing to the flags which decorated the hall), and marking him who would strike one from its blue field as much a traitor as he who would rend its folds asunder.

Governor Seymour at the Dedication of the Gettysburg Cemetery, Nov. 19, 1863.

[After the formal dedicatory ceremonies, the New York soldiers present on the occasion were reviewed by Governor Seymour, and presented with a stand of colors ; on which occasion Governor Seymour spoke as follows] :—

SOLDIERS OF NEW YORK:—We love our whole country without reservation ; but while we do so, it is not inconsistent with that perfect and generous loyalty to love and be proud of our State. This day, when I took part in the celebration that was to consecrate yonder battle-field, while I felt as an American citizen, proud of my own country and proud of the gallant services of her citizens in every State, nevertheless my eye did involuntarily wander to that field where lie the glorious dead of our great State ; and when I returned, to see marching before me your manly and sturdy columns, not knowing you belonged to New York, my heart did quicken and my pulse tingle to learn that you were acting under commissions issued by myself. And I am most proud and happy that I have this opportunity, on behalf of the merchants of the great commercial city of New York, to present to you this glorious banner, which has been sent as a token of their confidence in your loyalty and your courage and your fidelity in the hour of danger. Sergeant, I place these colors in your hand in the firm confidence that they will be borne through every field of triumph, of trial, and of danger, in a way that will do honor to yourselves ; to the great State which you represent, and the still greater country to which you belong. May God bless you as you serve your country in the distant fields of danger. We find in those glorious fields you left behind you, many who are not indifferent to this conflict—who are not indifferent to the welfare of the whole Union. I do not doubt, therefore, that when you shall return from your dangerous fields of duty, you will bring back this standard to place among the archives of our State with honorable mention of the services her sons have performed. I do not doubt that, though it may perhaps be returned torn and stained, yet it will be still more glorious, and with glorious recollections clustering around it. In concluding these remarks, I ask in return of the men of New York to give three cheers for the Union of our country, and three cheers for the flag of our land.



Letter from Governor Seymour declining an Invitation to a Democratic Meeting in New York.

Confidence in Defeat—The Breaking up and Defeat of the Democratic Party
one of the Causes of the War—Its Restoration to Power essential to the
Welfare of the Country—Objections to Partisan Policy of the Government
—The true Policy of the Democratic Party—Confidence in the Future.

ALBANY, NOV. 27, 1863.

WM. M. TWEED, Chairman General Committee :—Gentlemen—I have this day received your invitation to attend the meeting which is to

be held at the Cooper Institute to-morrow evening. I cannot be present on that occasion, as my public duties, which have accumulated during my recent absence from the State, detain me at the capital. At a meeting held in your city, scarce a month since, I spoke at length upon the great questions which now agitate our country. The intervening election resulted unfavorably to that political organization which I believe is asserting principles and urging a policy best calculated to restore our Union, to preserve our constitutional rights, and to bring back peace to our land.

While I regret this result, I am still confident that the justice and patriotism of our positions will soon be recognized by all classes. Strong prejudices and passions always prevail in periods of civil war. Unjust suspicions and ungenerous assaults will be regretted by our political-opponents in calmer moments. In the meantime it is our duty to adhere firmly to those tried principles and to those time-honored organizations which governed our country so successfully in the past. The breaking up and defeat of the Democratic party was one of the leading causes of the calamities which now affect our country. Its restoration and triumph will herald and produce a policy which will unite the North and disarm the South, and bring back again that fraternal regard, that obedience to government, without which our country can neither be great nor prosperous. The Democratic party is at present subjected to a severe test of its patience and patriotism. While we are compelled to bear in common with our political opponents the burdens and sacrifices which this war imposes, no just regard or respect has been paid to our views or wishes. We recognize all the rights of the National Administration to direct public affairs, but we object to that temper which deals with the greatest rebellion ever known in the history of the world, and with questions touching the gravest interests of our Government and people, in the narrow spirit which marks ordinary party action.

It is conceded by all that we are now compelled to grapple with the greatest and gravest questions which have ever been submitted to a people; that some of them are beyond the grasp of human intellect; that they directly concern the lives, the fortunes, the happiness of our people. It should not be a matter of surprise or of irritation that those who view these events from different stand-points should differ in their opinions as to the proper mode of conducting public affairs. These fearful consequences, evolved in every step now taken, are reasons why all should openly and honestly express their convictions, and these conclusions, however conflicting, should be treated with a just forbearance and respect. Harmony of purpose and vigor of action will be gained more readily by a respectful regard for the opinions of others than by denunciations, by bitterness and strife.

The people of the Northern States are agreed in this, that the restoration of our Union is essential to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all sections of our broad land. Some hold that this object will be most readily gained by an immediate cessation of hostilities, and by negotiations conducted with a view to the common good. On the opposite extreme are those who demand that the States should be subjugated by force, and force alone, and should be held and governed by military control until their populations be humiliated to

the acceptance of such principles and forms of local government as may be dictated to them by conquerors.

I believe that the masses of our people hold that in this emergency the policy should be that pursued by President Jackson under similar circumstances. While on the one hand there should be every exertion of national power to compel obedience to constitutional obligations, on the other there should be superadded every inducement consistent with the honor of the Government to lead the rebellious States to lay down their arms and return to their appropriate positions in the Union. In the meanwhile no good can be gained, no interest of freedom or of constitutional rights or of personal liberty will be promoted by making differences of opinion upon questions of public policy occasions for strife, persecutions, or public disorder. While it is our duty to repel all invasion upon our constitutional rights, let us by a prompt obedience to our constitutional obligations show that we are not animated by a factious purpose to embarrass the Administration, but that we are controlled by a fervent desire, not only to save our Union and preserve our Constitution, but beyond all, to defend those rights of person and homes, of property, of conscience, which that Constitution, and that Union, were designed to secure. Adhering to our purpose to do our whole duty and to demand all our rights, let us patiently and patriotically struggle to save our country from anarchy or from despotism, unswerved by assaults, misrepresentations, or denunciations.

To do this it is important that we should preserve our ranks unbroken and our local organizations unimpaired. I am animated with hope and confidence for the future. The utter failure in practice of all schemes for the centralization of power, will place the principles of local self-government upon firmer and stronger grounds. The end of the contest which is now going on in the public mind will not only prove that the principles of government held by the Democratic party made our country great and prosperous, but that the antagonistic doctrines of consolidation are inconsistent with peace, with union, with the National existence. Let us, therefore, bear patiently the trials of the day, for we are to triumph in the permanent establishment of political views held by our party organization.

Truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Circular urging Volunteering to avoid a Draft.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, Dec. 7, 1863. }

TO THE SUPERVISOR OF THE TOWN OF ———:—Sir—Impressed with the importance of prompt effort on the part of the State to procure its quota of troops under the call of the President for three hundred thousand men by voluntary enlistments, and thus avoid the impending draft, I earnestly and respectfully request you, in connection with such influential citizens of your town as you may associate

with you for that purpose, to enter immediately upon the duty of raising by volunteer enlistments, the quota of your town. The recently obtained action of the War Department on this subject, a copy of which is annexed, will greatly facilitate your labors, and it is believed do much to secure a result so desirable. You will learn the quota of your town from the Provost-Marshal of your district.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

B. D. NOXON, JR., Private Secretary.

The following propositions submitted by the Commission on the part of the Governor of New York, have received the approval of the War Department, and will govern it in the matters referred to:—

1. That quotas be appointed to towns and wards in the several Congressional Districts of the State of New York, and that assurance be given to such towns and wards as may furnish their full quotas of volunteers, under the recent call of the President for three hundred thousand men, that they will be exempt from the pending draft should one be rendered necessary in January next.

2. That the several towns and wards receive credit for all such volunteers as may have been mustered into the United States service since the draft, and that the number so credited be deducted from their proportion of the quota assigned the State under recent calls.

Governor Seymour and the Labor Question.

Letter defining his Position in 1864 on the Eight Hour Law; and giving his views of the relations between Currency and Labor.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, Oct. 1, 1864.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter of the 28th inst., and I recall the interview which I had with regard to a bill pending before the Legislature, and the conversation we then had about the relation-ship between capital and labor.

With regard to the particular measures of which you speak in your letter, viz: The reduction of labor to eight hours, &c., I have only to say that it is a clear right of all classes of men to improve their condition, and to urge and secure such actions and laws as are best fitted to reach their object. I also hold that those engaged in different pursuits are the best judges of the measures which are for their good. It is their right to speak for themselves, and their views and wishes should be taken as the best evidence as to what their interests demand. When large classes of men have decided for themselves, in the light of their own experience, what laws they wish, such wishes should be met, unless they do harm or wrong to others. The number of hours during which men shall toil each day, is clearly a question for themselves to decide. No one can rightfully object to this; neither can objections be made to a legislative decision as to the length of time

that shall make a day's work, for the purpose of securing uniformity of action.

Our statute books are filled with laws having these objects in view with respect to a great variety of business pursuits. Thus far all limitations of the hours of labor have been for the public welfare. The time of labor has not been shortened by far as fast as the currency with which it is paid has fallen off in value.

Beyond the subjects to which you call my attention, there are other questions affecting the laboring classes growing out of the violent fluctuations of our currency which have caused me great anxiety. The prices of labor are slowly adjusted to the value of the money which is used in its payment, or for the necessities of life. Extreme and sudden changes in the value of such currency disturb and injury those engaged in every kind of business. The losses thus caused are heavier than the burdens of taxation, for they fall upon every daily transaction of life. It is clear that those who are to make the laws of our country are to be perplexed with the most troublesome questions growing out of our currency.

At this time no man knows at the beginning of the week what will be the value of the pay which he shall receive at its close. Some standard must be found to measure the worth of money, of labor, and of provisions. The fluctuations in those values are constantly becoming more rapid and extreme, and they will soon be felt in every workshop, every household, and they will tell upon the comfort and happiness of every family. To make labor cheerful, it must not only be saved from over-toil, but also from anxiety with regard to its rewards.

I hope your association will consider these questions, for they must be met. They will be forced upon you in your rents, in your food, your clothing, your fuel. They will be the disturbing problem which will most engage public attention during the coming years. Beyond all others they cause me the most anxiety in the position which I now hold, and they will be most perplexing to those who shall hereafter administer our public affairs.

Truly yours,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

To B. M. FOWLER, Esq.

Governor Seymour at Bridgeport, Conn., April 3, 1868.

Business Embarrassments and Commercial Stagnation—Necessity of a Political Change in the Country—Helplessness of the Republican Party to save the Country—Extreme Measures of the Republican Party forced upon them as natural Results of Wrong Policy—The Impeachment of President Johnson—The Democratic Party Untrammelled with Embarrassments and Entanglements that compel Republicans to adopt Extreme Measures—The North Punished more than the South by Republican Policy—The Financial Question—Labor and Taxation—Republican Waste and Extravagance—Republican Legislation Incongruous and Incomprehensible—Swarms of Corrupt Officials filling the Land—Negro Suffrage—Capacity of the Negro as a Law Maker—Practical Business Questions.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Although my health is infirm, I have come

from a distance to speak to you to-night with regard to the present position of our country; and if my health permits, I will try to show you why you should, at this election, no longer support the party in power, the party that has conducted the affairs of our nation for the last eight years.

I saw a day or two since in a New York journal, a statement made by an eminent Republican merchant, that our carrying trade has been swept from the ocean, that our productive industry has been crippled, that legislation has been corrupted, and that all branches of business were perplexed by anxiety; and I find, wherever I go, in my intercourse with both Democrats and Republicans, that they all agree in this, that at no previous time in the history of our country have business men and laboring men found so much difficulty in the conduct of their different pursuits. Yet, at this time able men, conscientious men, exhort you to adopt that party under whom this great evil has fallen on the land; and sometimes I find, on talking with my Republican friends, with whom I always maintain pleasant relations,—I find that, while they admit the existence of these great public evils, while they admit that they are unable to look into the dim future and see what is to be the result, they do not see what is to be gained by a change; they don't see that the Democratic party is more patriotic or more intelligent than their own.

Now, I stand here to-night for the purpose of trying to show why they should change, why the Democratic party can govern this country better than it has been governed for the past eight years, and why the Republican party, with all its patriotism, with all its intelligence, is not at this time capable of extricating our land from the dangers which surround us. Understand, however, that I don't make this a question of patriotism or of intelligence between these two great parties. I am happy to say that the great party of our political opponents contains numbers of earnest men determined to do what is right, and to uphold the prosperity of the country. I don't stand here to impeach their intelligence or assail their patriotism, God knows; but for the purpose of trying to show to them, and to show to all others, that there is a necessity for a political change; and I stand here in the spirit of a business man, for the purpose of inquiring how the business prosperity of our land is affected. But, say my Republican friends: "If we are going to be no wiser, if we are going to be no more patriotic, what are we to gain by a change? If, under the same circumstances, you would fail, as you would fail, why should we change our rulers?" Why, my friends, we admit that under the same circumstances we would fall into the same errors as they did. But we propose to change the circumstances. We hope, if we assume power, to do so under different circumstances, to act under a different policy, and to relieve the country from a state of things which, hitherto, has been so disastrous to its great interests.

Why, then, cannot the Republican party save our country? Every man within the sound of my voice knows that he often comes into contact with men in whose integrity he has the utmost confidence, for whom he has great regard, and on whom he places considerable dependence so far as judgment is concerned, but who yet take up a policy that he is bound to condemn. You see clearly that their projects, if carried out, would certainly lead to disastrous results, and

involve you, in the first place in embarrassment, and in the second place in disgrace and ruin. Now this is the difficulty with the Republican party.

At the close of the war we hoped that passions which had sprung into existence during its progress had exhausted themselves; that the old animosities would now be laid aside, and the people of every section of our country would unite in fraternal concord in an endeavor to make it what it once was, the pride and admiration of the world. If at that time my Republican friends had allowed themselves to be governed by the better instincts which I am sure worked within them, they would have come forward and said to those they had crushed down in the battle-field: "Let the past be forgotten, let us remember that our National existence was wrought out for us by our common ancestors, not alone in New England and New York, but upon the soil of Virginia and Georgia as well." If we had recalled to our recollection the fact that George Washington, Putnam, Lee, came from all parts of our land, instead of dwelling upon these topics of hatred and discord, to-day our country would have been free from the weighty evils which afflict it.

But, unfortunately for themselves, unfortunately for our country, the Republican party entered upon a policy of force and coercion. From that first fatal step, they made it necessary for themselves to follow out a policy which they themselves would have indignantly scouted two years ago. They never meant to do what they have done. They would have regarded with horror, three or four years ago, the idea of shackling the Judiciary, or removing the Chief Executive of the Nation by a mock trial, or maintaining, in times of peace, armies to eat out the substance of the people. Every man within the sound of my voice knows that, in private as well as by force, men sometimes do things that involve the necessity of future acts whether they will or not. Now, when the Republican party inaugurated the policy of governing the South by force, it involved the necessity of maintaining great armies—great standing armies. It involved great national expense. The war ceased nearly four years ago, and yet it will cost this year more than \$150,000,000 to maintain an army to keep the people of the South in subjection—a people that ought rather to be helping us to bear the cost of governing the nation. Then their policy of making standing armies necessary also involves the necessity that they did not contemplate in the outset.

It was engrafted upon the original Constitution of this Nation that the military should ever be subject to the civil authority. The Judiciary was placed above all restraint, so that it could act independently, and judge between the citizens, and protect the rights of the people under the Constitution. Our fathers deemed the existence of large standing armies inconsistent with the liberties of the people, and likely to lead to the exercise of despotic powers. When, therefore, the Republican party put upon this country the necessity for maintaining great armies, they made it necessary to do another thing, whether they wished or not. They have been forced to do things which they never believed they would do, but which the natural result of their wrong policy compelled them to do—to desecrate the great maxims of American liberty.

They have been compelled to shackle the Judiciary, until now, in

certain instances, no matter how deeply a man's rights may be affected, he is prevented from appealing to the highest court for redress. This is a matter that concerns not only the people of one section, but all the people of Connecticut as well as the people of Alabama.

But they were forced to go still further. One iniquity of the Republicans brought on another, until it became necessary to remove the Executive, and show to the world the scandalous spectacle of a people dragging the Chief Executive like a criminal before a tribunal to a trial that all the world knows is a mockery. The Republican papers have, many of them, stated that the Senator who fails to convict the President is guilty of treason to his party. The Republicans look upon the impeachment of Mr. Johnson as a party measure, and likewise a party necessity, and good men, who never thought where they were drifting, have been gradually led on until they have become parties to the outrage. The Chief Magistrate is dragged before the highest court in the land, not to be calmly and dispassionately tried, but to be condemned; for we are told that the sentence was pronounced before the trial began; before even the accusations were put in form by the prosecutors. I hold in my hand an article from one of the New York papers,—the *Independent*,—a religious as well as political journal. In this article the writer calls upon men to send in petitions, to write letters, to go even themselves to Washington and to place themselves by the side of their Senators and see that they bring in a verdict of guilty. Now the man who writes that is not a bad man in his intentions, but the monstrous proposition that he makes is a fair indication of the condition of things to which we have come, and the indifference with which men may regard a gross wrong. How extraordinary it is that good men may really believe in the justice of such a horrible proposition as he makes when he says that Senators, who have sworn on the word of God that they will do impartial justice, shall be thus forced to bring in a verdict for conviction without regard to the evidence of their better judgment.

When a party has placed itself in such a position that it has drifted along into acts like these; when a party has grown so forgetful of the great securities of law and justice that lie at the foundation of our Government, I ask you if it is not time that that party should be ousted from power and taught to respect the rights and liberties of this nation? Is it not time to rebuke them for doing violence to the time-honored principles of our Government and the dearest maxims of American liberty?

Republicans will tell you that they cannot stop; they must go on and carry through the policy that they have entered upon, at any cost. That, my friends, is unfortunately true.

We stand before this people, as a party, urging you to remove those in power, not because we believe we are any better than they, or wiser than they, but we are free from their embarrassments and the entanglements that compel them to go on in their unwise and mistaken policy. We present ourselves before you, feeling the force of the disorganized condition of our country's affairs. The Republicans, in their appeals to you, seek to turn your attention exclusively upon the condition of the South and the events of the late war. They would instinctively turn your attention away from home affairs and the questions that come nearer to your interests, matters that concern

you in the daily affairs of life. They seek, I say, to fill your minds with the considerations that arose from the condition of the Southern people, to the exclusion of your own immediate interests.

Now, admitting all they claim—admitting that the people of the South deserve punishment, that it is right, just, and fair to hold them in rigid restraint,—is that a reason why the people of Connecticut, who have always been loyal, should be punished? Yet the punishment which the Republicans pretend to allot to the South falls equally upon the North. Indeed, the North seems rather to get the worst of it. This proposition I will endeavor to prove to you to-night.

The expenses of the army last year were a hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Who pays it? The poverty-stricken and desolate South is unable to pay it. The South does not pay it—indeed it is rather to the benefit of the South than otherwise, in one respect; because a large portion of this money is expended by the soldiers quartered in the Southern States; but the burden of paying this tax falls upon you, upon your labor, your capital, your property. We have collected some \$500,000,000 a year. This year it will be in the neighborhood of four hundred millions of dollars. This large amount, drawn from the people of the Northern States, exceeds the total sum of all the local indebtedness for the purpose of carrying on the war; for purposes of education; for the purposes of religion. Who pays this vast sum? Upon whom does the burden rest? Upon the South, against which they try to excite your passions and prejudices? No, it falls upon the workshop, the labor, property, and capital of the North. Every man's intelligence must teach him that such is the case.

How is it that, with thirty five millions of people and the richest country in the world—how is it that we are crowded out of the markets of the world? How is it that even South America and Brazil can borrow money at four per cent., while we borrow at six, and our bonds are a drug in the market? Look at the cable returns from Europe. How is it that Illinois Central Railway bonds are selling for a larger price than the bonds of the United States? A respectable merchant in this State borrows money at six per cent., and in New York at seven, frequently at four and five. But the Government of the United States has got to pay, when you take into account that the interest is paid in gold, ten per cent.

Look at the condition of the country. A few years ago, when a young man wished to engage in business, or a laboring man wished to raise his condition, he could readily find capitalists, if he was a deserving man, to advance him money at the legal rate of interest. What is the condition of this Government now? A young man finds it entering into competition with him and offering a higher rate of interest than he is able to pay. We insist upon it that this position is one that is degrading. It is a position of danger. The strength of our Government lies very much in the fact that it is a paternal and beneficial one; and so it is when it stands in its proper attitude. But as it stands now, it loses its controlling power; it loses its strength. We wish to know whether the laboring men of Connecticut, and her capitalists, can afford these things.

Sometimes taxation is put upon a community that many men are not able to trace it out at all. Men do not know how it is that at the end of the year their substance is eaten up. I am not talking to you

about matters that simply concern politicians, or matters that lie in the dim future, but things that concern you to-day, will concern you to-morrow, in your workshops and by your firesides—facts that have an important bearing upon your ability to clothe and educate your families, to even purchase the necessaries of life. I ventured to ask, to-day, a very intelligent man, whose position in life is proof of his capacity and sagacity, how much it would cost the laboring man, or how many hours a laboring man would have to toil in order to support himself if he had no such thing as taxation; if, for example, a working man could procure his food and clothing at first cost, how many hours would he have to toil in order to support himself; and the answer was, “six hours,” which we may consider a very fair estimate. Now, you are to remember how much the cost of everything is multiplied by taxation in its various forms. Now all labor above six hours is put upon you by the tax-gatherer. It is put upon you by the policy of the Government. Of course, we cannot lift the load of taxation altogether from the people. You cannot reduce the hours of labor to six hours per day, but I tell you, those of you who toil in the workshops, when you have labored your six hours, when you are beginning to feel your arms weary, and you desire either mental occupation or enjoyment with your families, the tax-gatherer comes in and says, “No, we own four hours of your labor yet, you must pay them to us.” Now, I ask you, laboring men, can you afford all that, in order that these gentlemen may amuse themselves with their policy of Southern reconstruction?

My friend General Sickles says nothing is better than the Governors down South. That may be very well for the Governors there, with their salaries; but can you afford to have that state of things exist when we show you that more than \$300,000,000 a year have been wasted in order to uphold this policy of reconstruction? I ask you, is the public faith safe?—if there is no danger of greater desolation falling upon us in this land if this policy is continued? What do you say?

The tax-gatherer calls upon you and you complain of your taxes. These taxes are imposed for the purpose of paying our unwise public debt. Now, \$400,000,000 are raised; and out of it the creditor gets only \$100,000,000. Where do the \$300,000,000 go? I ask the capitalists, I ask the men who hold these bonds, if it is wise and prudent and right to uphold this policy, and to impose these taxes upon the people, to uphold a policy that endangers the liberties of our land? I ask you, can you sustain these men who waste three dollars of the people's money, where they devote one to the payment of the public creditor? If the money had been paid, our credit would have stood so firm in the markets of the world that we would have now been enabled to issue new bonds at a lower rate of interest, and thus have lifted the burdens from the laboring men of our country.

I ask the tax-payer, I ask the bond-holder, I ask the laboring man who toils for his daily living, is it not necessary to have a change in power? You may not think our Republican friends unpatriotic or bad men, but they are men who have drifted into a false policy, from which they cannot extricate themselves, and from which they must be extricated by a change of political power. They know it as well as we know it. When they lay aside passions and prejudices they

will be convinced of the truth of what I am now urging upon you. The day will come when our Republican friends, who look upon us with so much disfavor, will acknowledge that we are right and that they were wrong, and will thank us in the name of our country for standing by its cardinal principles.

It is not for ourselves alone that we battle. What is a political triumph for a party? What is a political triumph for a man? In a little while all who are here present will pass away beneath the sod. In a little while all who are actors to-day will not be living men. How little, then, does a transitory political triumph concern us compared with a great political duty to bring back the Government to the principles of our ancestors; to bring our country back to that position which it once occupied, with a people free from the burdens of taxation beyond any other people—when we enjoyed the blessings of good government and were the envy of the world. It is true that laboring men are bound to share the expenses of the Government. You are bound to subject yourselves to taxation—that cannot be avoided for at least ten years; but three hundred millions of dollars are wrong from this people that ought not to be taken from it.

Look at the legislation of Congress; if you can tell what it is you can perform a task that few Republican members of Congress can perform. Few men can tell how often Congress has changed its policy. Not one man can answer a question upon the subject of that legislation—at least to enumerate its manifold changes—without reference to some document in his possession or some other authority. They are few who can answer questions concerning taxation without consulting the ever-varying record. Our policy of tariff is the most changeable that was ever known, and it is utterly impossible for merchants to calculate with any degree of certainty as to what will be the cost of any article of merchandise at any time in the future. The taxes are so frequently changed that people are utterly at a loss to keep track of them. Even a Republican cannot tell what that policy was, although he says it was all right. The legislation of Congress, touching the business relations of the country, is incongruous and incomprehensible. It is unparalleled in the history of legislation in its inconsistency, its uncertainty, and its absurdity. Ask a manufacturer how many changes have been made in the tariff, and he is ignorant of the laws that have been passed affecting his interests in the most vital degree.

The day was when the men within the sound of my voice had not seen a General Government officer, except a postmaster. He did not know the General Government, except for the benefits which it conferred upon him; but to-day you know nothing else. It haunts you at every point, at every turn. It afflicts us in every portion of our land; and now for the first time, when you tread the streets of our cities you find men shrinking away as if there was some undefined fear, as if there was some doubt, some danger of some spy lurking about to discover mistakes in their accounts, as if there were dread of some vindictive official who, with virtuous indignation, enforces the penalty, or compromises the matter for his share of the spoils. I say that which every business man knows, I don't care what his politics may be, when I assert that the whole business interests of the country are placed at the mercy of corrupt officials; we are in

the condition that our fathers complained of when they impeached George III., because he had sent swarms of officials to eat out the substance of our people.

I never meet a Republican manufacturer who does not say that the system of taxation is all wrong. He complains of its insecurity, of its uncertainty, of its shifting policy. I ask you, men within the sound of my voice, do not these things concern us? Are we not affected by this policy, its obscure and shifting lines, its terrible corruptions, that are growing until the whole people are becoming in danger of being demoralized?

But in one respect there has been no inconsistency in this otherwise shifting legislation. In one direction there is a strange persistency. In the early days of the war, there was a foul combination for making \$30,000,000, by imposing a tax upon alcohol, and it was successful; and these men were enabled to affix a tax of \$2 a gallon. This ought to produce from \$120,000,000 to \$200,000,000 per year. We ought to, at least, have one hundred and fifty millions. But how much have they collected of this tax on alcohol? Only twenty-five or twenty-six millions. Who gets the one hundred and twenty millions? Not the treasury, to which the people pay it; no, it is used to organize a system of corruption that has become so strong that it is impossible to repeal the law. It has been demonstrated that this tax on alcohol cannot be collected. They know it—every man knows it. Why is this kept up, I ask you? It is not because particular members of the Republican party wish it, but it is because the men in power are placed in necessities that compel them to assent to a wrong; and the Republican party says it must be done. It is required to keep down this “dying Democracy,”—as they used to call us—this Democracy over which so many funeral sermons have been pronounced, and so many epitaphs written, most of them by no means complimentary. They thought we were dead in New York until we rolled up 50,000 majority. They believed it was necessary for the preservation of their party that this monstrous taxation should be continued—an example of legislation unparalleled in any country in the world—one hundred millions a year spent in corrupting the community.

My Republican friends, I do implore you to look at these things for yourselves. Look at the revenue laws of any other country, and say if you do not know that these abuses are not universal. I want to call your attention to-night to these things. I want to call your attention not alone to the effects of this policy upon the South, but also to its effects upon the North. If the South has done wrong, why should you be punished for it, for all punishment falls upon us. The South is as poor as it can be. It can suffer no more.

But the Republican party, having commenced with a wrong policy, unforeseen necessities have sprung up, and now at length it has become a party necessity to impeach the President. They don't wish to impeach the President. They are heartily sick of the whole affair. They know that its tendency is to diminish the respect of the people for them; they know that it must demoralize the community; they know that it must diminish the strength of their respect for those maxims of government which for centuries have been held sacred. We used to say once, and feel, that the Judiciary should be respected. That was a little thing to say; but it

cost centuries of experience and many hard conflicts before the great doctrine was engraved in the minds of the English people, and still more deeply into the minds of the American people. Yet to-day, by all these things which are being done by the Republican party, they are doing worse than merely violating the Constitution, for constitutions can be rewritten, and governments reformed; but when you destroy in the minds of the people the respect for the fundamental principles of civil liberty, and destroy their respect for the courts which maintain it, then you inflict upon the country an evil of immense magnitude and duration. The Constitution under which we have lived so far provides that every man's person shall be protected. It provides that his rights of conscience shall be secured to him, and that his household rights shall be revered by all. It was for these rights that our revolutionary war was waged; yet now the party in power have struck a blow at all these fundamental principles, and you are asked to sustain a Government which has given a death-blow to those principles which it was their sacred duty to maintain.

Are we to have no regard for the 30,000,000 of the people of the North? Are we to legislate alone with regard to its effect upon the 5,000,000 of persons in the South, holding up that only before the public gaze, and disregarding how it affects the people of the North?

I ask you to read once again, before this election takes place, the teachings of the fathers as embodied in the constitutions of the different States. Read the Constitution of Connecticut, of Massachusetts, of every New England State, and you will find it written there by these men, that the military power shall ever be held in subordination to the civil power. And how is it now? The people of the South are subjected to a military despotism in order to maintain which it is necessary to pass new laws to prevent the judiciary acting upon these questions.

I appeal, then, to the laboring men, whose personal rights are so deeply concerned in this matter; I appeal to men of property, whose only safety is in the authority of the law, whether their interests be in supporting the Republican or the Democratic party; I appeal to the men of the legal profession, who are learned in the history of constitutional progress in England and this country, if your hearts did not throb with pride, if your pulses did not quicken with emotion, when you read what was said by Coke, and Blackstone, and Mansfield, of the liberty of the people? Will you stand by and let a party ruthlessly destroy the authority of the principles they enunciated? Coke said that there were things that it was not fit for a King to ask or a people to grant. Will you not rise up and say to the party in power that there are things which it is not fit for any party to ask and not fit for any people to give, and in thus speaking be true to the teachings of your noble profession, raising your voice in earnest protest against evils of such magnitude?

If men only took these things to heart, if they looked at them in the light of history, if they considered attentively the great principles of legislation, if they appreciated to their full value the privileges which are secured to them by that Constitution which men are now sneering at, they would be convinced that they cannot afford to maintain a party in power which heretofore has brought such evils upon us, and threatens us with so many more in the future.

These men say that the negro must vote because he has a natural right to do so—this race which is so utterly ignorant of the first rudiments of government. I feel kindly toward the negro, and I am convinced that there was never such great cruelty practised upon them by any persons as by the Republican party, in compelling them to frame constitutions—a work for which they are utterly incompetent, and in doing which they bring down upon themselves the ridicule of the world. You of Connecticut have decided already against the principle of negro suffrage. You know that that race will not assimilate to your own. Men from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, come here, and in one generation coalesce with and become part of our own people—one homogeneous whole. But our fathers did not make Indians citizens. They knew the race could not assimilate with their own. I do not know what the negro may become. I wish him well, and would do for him all that can be done for him to lift him up. We are bound to make honest, earnest efforts to that end; but we should not push him into positions for which he is entirely unsuited and unprepared. The white man would be treated with cruelty who should be set to make constitutions, or be put upon the bench if he was untaught in the principles of government and law, and unable to do anything but expose his ignorance to the ridicule of the world.

It is nothing but political necessity which forces the Republican party to take such a course. They must, to keep in existence and hold the power, retain control of ten Southern States. What is the result in these ten States? 3,000,000 of negroes, who do not know what a constitution is, or where the city of Washington is, are making constitutions and aspiring to represent States in Congress. This is a very serious matter, and leads to very serious conclusions.

When the Constitution was framed, it was decided that every State should have equal representation in the Government, but the party now in power have made sham States on the Western plains—States which have not, and may never have, the population required to entitle them to representation as States. In order to have control in the South they maintain military governments there contrary to the Constitution of the country. Having done that, they were next compelled to strip the judiciary of its power; and lastly, to this present attempt to drive out the Executive under circumstances that disgrace the land.

Take up the party history that has led to this result, and you will see that originally it was not in the least contemplated by the members of that party. They were shocked beyond measure when it was charged upon them. I ask you, men of Connecticut, can you afford to let this go on. It is a business question—a question in the consideration of which we should lay aside the passions and prejudices which are so natural to all of us. I stand before you to-night to say that which is true and right. Dispassionately I implore you to come to this question as to any other great business question, giving it the attention it deserves, and see if you can afford, whether you be laborer or capitalist, to uphold a policy which has brought upon you such a load of taxation, of slavery in your work-shops, crippling your efforts to support and educate your families, destroying your reverence for all the ancient established maxims of government. In the light of the experience of the last year, can you afford it? In the

light of the teachings of your fathers, framers of your Constitution, can you afford it? I exhort you to be true to yourselves in this crisis. What in God's name is party victory to any of us in comparison with the good of our country and the safety of our Government?

I feel, fellow-citizens, that I have wearied you too long with this discussion, but I hope that I have succeeded in placing these questions fairly before you, and I do trust that, when we shall hear from this State on Monday next, it will be news to cheer the hearts of those who live in other parts of the country, and that you will prove that you wish to save the country from the troubles and perplexities in which it is involved. Be true to yourselves, to your homes, to your country, and once more we will have a Government of economy in all its various branches, a Government bound to respect the principles of the Constitution, a Government of principles so fixed and settled that you may know what you have to count upon in all your plans for the future. More than that, you shall have a Government of fraternal feeling throughout all the length and breadth of the land, so that all feelings of hate and passion and revengefulness shall be banished from the land. Then once more we shall have to tell that we live in a country embracing the home of George Washington and of Jackson and of Madison, and not only men of the South, but men of the North, too, Sumpter, and Gates, and Green. Thus we will go back to the inspirations of the earlier and better days of the Republic, and be taught wisdom from the past; be taught that charity is better than revenge; be taught once more to rally round the flag of our country, whose every star stands for a State, and whose every stripe stands for one of the original thirteen.

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